

Public Administration

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Television in the Public Service

BY SIR IAN JACOB, K.B.E., C.B.

In this article the Director General of the British Broadcasting Corporation is primarily concerned with the continuance of a strong and independent body to conduct public service broadcasting.

THE B.B.C. Television Service was the first public television service in the world. It remains the best-known television service to be organised on public service lines. It began broadcasting on the 2nd November, 1936, and continued until the 3rd September, 1939, when the Government, for reasons of air defence, ordered a close down. In that time, audiences in the London area, to which transmissions were confined, had seen part of King George VIth's Coronation procession and the running of the only Derby to be televised so far. When the service closed down, there were about 30,000 receiving sets, but the Postmaster-General had not yet introduced a television licence.

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

It was not until the 7th June, 1946, that the service resumed. The Corporation's task in this immediate post-war period was two-fold: to expand the coverage of the Television Service and to improve the range and quality of its programmes. This had to be done at a time of financial stringency, of limited resources in building material and labour, without impairing the Sound broadcasting services which then had the overwhelming preponderance of the Corporation's audiences. In 1949 the first post-war transmitter was opened at Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, and, since then, new transmitters have been regularly brought into service until today 98 per cent. of the population is within the range of B.B.C. Television. The work of bringing programmes to the remaining two per cent., living largely in scattered communities in remote parts of the country, is proceeding with as much speed as possible and the Corporation will not be satisfied until coverage is complete.

It became clear at an early stage that the accommodation of the Television Service would require more elaborate premises than anything available at the pre-war Alexandra Palace studios. In addition to new quarters in London, it was also necessary to find suitable studios in the Regions. Here it was impossible to apply any uniform solution. The demands of a nation like Wales differ fundamentally from those of North Region, for example. Television too depends a great deal on film, not only for individual programmes, but for the many shorter filmed items used in magazine programmes and news bulletins. The acquisition of suitable studios for film making and the many ancillary processes that accompany it therefore provided another problem in the post-war period.

The Corporation was fortunate enough to solve its immediate need for studios in London by taking over the old film studios at Lime Grove, Shepherds Bush. These came into service in 1950. Four years later, the Corporation again took over premises from the film industry when it acquired for its own

film department the famous Ealing Studios. In the meantime, hampered by capital restrictions which prevented rapid progress, plans were laid for the building of a Television Centre in West London, close to the White City Stadium. This building will accommodate studios and offices. It is expected to be in partial use in 1959, although the first studio will not be operational before 1960. In the Regions too, premises have been converted, stage by stage, for television. Although, with a single service, there has been little opportunity for Regions to provide programmes for their own audiences and their output has been largely for the network, Regional premises and staff have remained part of the Regional establishment. There has been no attempt to reduce Regional autonomy by denying them control over their television resources.

In 1950 a Director of Television was added to the existing Board of Management which had, until then, consisted of the Director-General and five Directors (Director of Technical Services, Director of Overseas Services, Director of Administration, Director of Home Broadcasting, and Director of the Spoken Word). The present structure of the Television Service provides for a Deputy Director, with responsibilities for the overall planning of programmes, and a number of Controllers, with special responsibilities in the separate fields of programme planning, programme servicing, engineering and administration. Each Controller has answerable to him a number of Heads of Departments. The pattern follows closely that in the Sound Broadcasting Directorate. One exception to this is the relative strengths of the servicing departments in Sound and Television, since it is inevitable that a great many more people are required to put a television programme on the air. With producers, designers, cameramen, scene shifters, property men, wardrobe mistresses, make-up artists and transport drivers, a television production resembles an iceberg of which the greater part is invisible and even unsuspected. It is certain that the effort required to stage a musical play in the West End of London is often expended two or three times an evening in the television studios.

Since the resumption of programmes in 1946, the output has risen from a few hours a day to an average of fifty-five hours a week. Neither television authority is permitted by the Postmaster-General's rules on hours of broadcasting to transmit for more than fifty hours a week or eight hours on any one day, but religious broadcasts, schools programmes and relays from public events are exempted from the reckoning. The number of outside broadcasts is, however, limited by an annual total of hours that may be broadcast from such events. In the summer months the outside broadcast units provide a great deal of material. The ability of these units to defy almost any obstacle has often been demonstrated in the past in programmes from aircraft, submarines or the bottom of coal mines. The B.B.C.'s studio productions demand the regular use of sixteen studios in and outside London, as well as a number of smaller studios for interviews. A third source of programmes is filmed material, often shot in parts of the world still inaccessible to the television camera. Twenty-nine per cent. of all B.B.C. television broadcasting in the second quarter of 1958 was on film, although much of this consisted of filmed material used to illustrate programmes otherwise live.

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Television now costs the B.B.C. approximately £3,400 an hour, a figure which reflects a steady increase in costs since 1946. This is due partly to a general rise in process and partly because technical advances have made more elaborate programmes the rule. Television, too, is now expected to range the world and this has its consequences in higher costs. In providing for the Television Service, however, the B.B.C. has not reduced the share of Sound broadcasting in the licence revenue, even though television is approximately ten times more expensive than sound. From every £4 paid to the Post Office for a combined Sound and Television licence, the Corporation eventually receives less than £2 10s.

DIVIDED CONTROL

In 1954, after a passage through Parliament which provoked much controversy, the Television Bill became law and the Independent Television Authority was set up. The Authority was charged with the provision of television programmes additional to those provided by the B.B.C., but inevitably the position of the Corporation and the Authority has been interpreted as competitive. The effect of this competition on the B.B.C.'s endeavours has not been very pronounced. The B.B.C.'s basic policy in television has not been changed. It has continued, within the scope of a single network, to give as comprehensive a service to the public as possible. In theory, the existence of the two channels ought to provide the audience with a sensible choice. In practice, however, this has not worked out. The two networks go their separate ways and the public is denied true alternatives. Competition in broadcasting inevitably produces this result. If the public is to get the best out of two channels, then those channels should be planned in relation to one another. This is impossible when their control lies in different hands. The possibilities of television are being dissipated by the present system and the public deprived of many programmes which alternative planning could bring them.

It may be argued that the B.B.C. is in a position to ignore the relative size of its audience and that it is not obliged to compete with Independent Television. But, to some extent, it must compete for its audiences, or its audiences will diminish beyond that level at which the Corporation could continue to claim that it is the national broadcasting authority. This is the situation into which the Corporation has been placed by competition. The Corporation's Television Service, and thus the public, has been denied that freedom of manoeuvre which a second channel would give. The Corporation, confined to a single service, has to some extent been prevented from performing to the full those public service obligations set out in the Charter.

Within these limitations, the B.B.C. tries to provide a balanced, yet diverse, service of programmes. It is aware that the majority of its audience looks to it for entertainment. Nonetheless, entertainment need not be unthinking. The element of curiosity is strong among many viewers. For them television can act, in a still expressive phrase, as a window on the world. Many programmes therefore, without making any appeal to their audience by sensational methods, try to stimulate that curiosity. A recent series on evolution, for example, drew an average audience of two and three-quarter millions.

But television is, above all, the medium of immediacy. Within a matter of hours, film cameras can bring to the television screen a record of events happening on the other side of the world and, in the same short space, expert opinion can be gathered from a dozen countries. The B.B.C.'s reflection of current affairs can be divided into two groups; the straight reporting of news and the broadcasting of background commentaries. For some time the Corporation has been feeling the need for a closer relationship between the departments concerned in this output. It has, accordingly, recently appointed a Director of News and Current Affairs, whose responsibility it is to co-ordinate and supervise these activities in both Television and Sound. The B.B.C. has a number of programmes regularly concerned with current events, including "Panorama", which has an audience of eight and three-quarter millions, and "Tonight", seen on each weekday evening by an average audience of five millions. In addition, the Corporation holds itself free to interrupt its advertised programmes when the importance of current news demands. This was demonstrated on a Saturday in July this year (1958) shortly after the Iraqi revolt, when a special report on the Middle Eastern situation displaced almost an hour of the planned schedule. This was an example of the flexibility of a system which is not geared to the split-second timing of commercial broadcasting.

The Corporation televised its first programme from Europe in the summer of 1950 when viewers were able to see pictures from Calais. Since then greater and greater distances have been covered. Programmes have come from Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Italy, while, on Bastille Day, 1958, the first pictures were received from Algeria. In exchange, the Corporation has transmitted many programmes to countries in Europe. It cannot be long before Europe and America come within the range of a similar exchange and work is continuously being undertaken to provide an effective link.

This kind of experimental work is characteristic of much that is being done by the B.B.C.'s Engineering Division. It is work that will eventually be of benefit not only to the B.B.C., but to any other organisation which likes to make use of it. The B.B.C. has always regarded its experimental work as part of its public service duty and has always made the results available to the public. Some of the most valuable work in television development has been done in B.B.C. laboratories. Earlier this year, a new method of recording television programmes on tape was made public. This Vision Electronic Recording Apparatus (known briefly as V.E.R.A.) will make possible the rapid recording and editing of programme material. The previous method of recording on film was considerably slower as no editing could be undertaken until the film had been processed. With V.E.R.A., editing may take place as soon as the recording has been made. Another field of television research in which B.B.C. experiments have been prominent is that of colour television and the B.B.C. now has a workable system that will transmit both in colour for suitable receivers and in black-and-white for ordinary receivers.

The Corporation has, for many years, had its own training department. The department runs a number of courses on different aspects of broadcasting in both Sound and Television. Students for these courses are drawn not only from the staff of the B.B.C., but from other organisations abroad. In

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the past, courses have included visitors from Nigeria, Ghana, the West Indies, Rhodesia, Thailand, and Yugoslavia. To many broadcasting organisations in these countries the B.B.C. has played tutor and will continue to give its help in this way as long as it is sought. Members of the B.B.C. staff are often seconded for short periods to set in operation new broadcasting systems in the colonies or the new dominions. All this activity is a natural part of those responsibilities which lie upon the public service broadcasting authority and it is difficult to overestimate its long-term value to the country as a whole.

COMPETITION AND PUBLIC SERVICE

Day by day, through television, the world is contracting before our eyes. The possibilities for abusing this immense power are clear. It would be idle to pretend that there are not strong forces already exploiting them or planning to exploit them further. There are, on the one hand, those who see in television only another medium in which they may advance their own political ends and, on the other, those who see television as no more than an addition to those advertising media of Press, radio, and cinema which have served them so profitably in the past. But to adopt either of these attitudes is to belittle the potentialities of a medium which can do much to enhance men's understanding of the world and their enjoyment of it. The manner in which television is controlled, therefore, is a matter for general concern, the question being simply whether television shall be operated for personal profit, of whatever kind, or whether it shall be operated in the public service. The public service system, like other British institutions, depends upon checks and balances, but, if it is to be successful, there are two important conditions to be observed. They are independence and public trust. Neither can exist without the other and it is of interest to consider their nature at some length.

Independence for broadcasting means freedom from two kinds of pressure, the political and the economic. The nature of political pressure is obvious, ranging from direct interference by the Government to the waging of a campaign by a small section of opinion for some particular political end. Economic pressure is, however, more subtle and it has two aspects. The first is the demand that public service authority should depend to some extent on advertising revenue. At first sight, there is nothing unreasonable in such a suggestion. The argument is persuasive, that the licence revenue could therefore be reduced and the benefit passed to the public in a lower licence fee. But it is important to note the probable consequences of such a development. Advertisers are bound to measure results by the amount of business attracted. If programmes failed to attract sufficiently large audiences for the advertiser, there would be a demand for a change in their content. There is little doubt that such a change could only be made at the expense, not necessarily of standards although this is probable, but of the comprehensive service to its audiences which the public service authority is bound to provide. It is impossible to compare in absolute terms the merits of a symphony concert and variety programme, but there is no doubt that the advertiser if it were commercially advantageous to do so, would seek to remove the concert in favour of the variety programme.

I am not here intending to describe actual conditions anywhere existing but rather to illustrate the general characteristics and typical trends of the commercial system. In practice, in this country and elsewhere the commercial system is regulated in the public interest by legally established restraints.

The second form which may be taken by economic pressures on independence is the creation of a commercial system in competition with the public service authority. The virtues of competition are not, of course, equally applicable to all activities. It cannot be said too often that there is a thoroughly bad analogy between competition in industry and competition in broadcasting. The analogy is scarcely more satisfactory when applied to the Press and broadcasting. It is not at all clear what the competitors in broadcasting are competing for. If the answer is that they compete for larger and larger audiences, then there again arises that threat to standards and comprehensiveness already noted. The most popular items must inevitably prevail. But this is to measure broadcasting by the wrong standards and shows a misunderstanding of its true ends. It is impossible for broadcasting to exceed the number of wavelengths available and the number of hours in any day. It depends for much of its time on the limited amount of creative talent available. (At no time in the world's history has there been such a demand for talent of all kinds as there is at the moment and no one can be altogether happy at the way in which the demand is being met.) Such limitations do not apply to the same extent to industry nor, generally speaking, to the Press. The application of commercial criteria of success to broadcasting can only produce lower standards. What happens when this occurs can be seen in the United States. The intelligent content of American broadcasting output is relatively low and one can only welcome the signs of disquiet that are following a growing realisation of this fact.

The threat to standards inherent in a thoroughgoing commercial system has already been noted but it may be valuable to consider the threat to comprehensiveness that also arises. Under a fully developed commercially competitive system a broadcasting organisation could not afford to devote programme space at the most valuable time to a minority, even though in actual numbers the minority may be substantial. This type of competition would tend inevitably to reduce and in the end to eliminate the time available for purposes other than entertainment.

The B.B.C. has devoted much time and effort to serious music and has played a part in developing the large new concert-going public. There is no doubt that television can undertake the same kind of educative work for the visual arts. Something has already been done in this direction. The B.B.C.'s regular visits to museums and galleries have invariably been followed by a rush from the public to visit these places for themselves. The present interest in archaeology has been stimulated by television programmes. The kind of work represented by these two examples would inevitably become threatened by absorption into a commercial system. There is yet another danger. Where competition for the largest audience is supreme, the tendency is to avoid anything which is not generally acceptable or which might be found disquieting or uncomfortable. The tendency may express itself in a political argument or a religious discussion. Where the eye has constantly to be kept

on the large audience, conformism is at a premium. And this cannot be healthy in a democracy. Competition, where it is carried to extremes, is a continuing threat to freedom of expression. This is only another example of the errors of attempting to apply commercial standards of success to broadcasting.

DIVIDED VOICES

There is one final consequence of yielding to these pressures from political or economic quarters. It is more than ever important that a nation should be able to speak abroad with a recognisable voice. This voice must be composed of many opinions at home and must not serve any particular section of opinion. But a nation cannot be fairly interpreted abroad if its intentions and achievements are reported with a variety of tendentious voices, some coloured by political interests, some by economic. The greatest value of the B.B.C. during the war to people overseas was the knowledge they had that, whatever the news, it would be presented in the same objective way. The voice was recognisable and authoritative. That tradition has been continued since the war. This same authoritative and recognisable quality is also valuable at home. At times of national crisis or at moments when the emotions of the nation are drawn together by a single event, as at the Coronation, the existence of a single authority to express the national mood is uniquely justified. It is a source of great strength to the nation.

But independence alone is not sufficient. There must also be public trust in the broadcasting organisation if so powerful a force as broadcasting is to be exercised largely free from extraneous supervision. Those who compose the organisation must themselves be seen to be independent and must bring collectively to the exercise of their powers experience gathered in a wide field. If they do not, then their interpretation of the public interest will immediately be suspect. At the same time, it is important that their conduct should be subject to scrutiny by the public. Without an alert public, the powers given to the authority could become a dangerous weapon. From time to time it is suggested that benefit would follow a division of the Corporation into a number of smaller bodies, each responsible for a single aspect of broadcasting. There would be separate authorities, for example, to control Sound broadcasting, Television and the External Services. Not only would such a system be extremely expensive for the national economy to sustain, since many facets of administration would have to be multiplied by three, but it would deprive the nation of the strength which comes from a unified broadcasting system. The dangers of the nation appearing to speak with two or three different voices would be very real. The inter-relation of external and domestic broadcasting is much closer than might be suspected. Many programmes are exchanged, for example. Under any diverse system, such exchanges might continue, but machinery would be needed to operate them effectively. There are many points of inter-relation between Sound and Television broadcasting. These too would be in danger of disappearing if the present unity were ended.

The same weaknesses would emerge if another alternative proposal were put into practice. This has been given some currency by those who would

like to see the Corporation continued to the satisfaction of minorities, while they themselves were free to attend to the majority audience. The dangers are obvious. The Corporation in such circumstances could no longer be regarded as a national body. The Corporation's authority would diminish at home and abroad. The loss to the nation would be serious. If public service broadcasting is to be effective, it must be comprehensive. It must be a potent force in the country, known and recognised by the country as a whole.

In television, the need for the B.B.C. to have a second channel is of considerable importance. The public service system of broadcasting is alone equipped to provide a genuinely alternative service for the public. It is argued by some that the cost of such a service would be beyond the B.B.C.'s resources, but this is not true. If the B.B.C. were allowed to have the entire proceeds of the £4 now paid by the public to the Treasury, a second service could be provided of the quality which is needed. Independent Television claims that it could provide an additional service without cost to the public. But this is not a problem which should be resolved in terms of money. The issues are much deeper. They are the issues of democracy itself. It has been suggested that the independence of the B.B.C. is chimerical and that it would be exposed as such if the Government threatened to withhold its revenue. But this would be a much graver step for the Government to take in the full light of public scrutiny than for an advertiser who, for one reason or another, withdrew his support from a commercial system. Indeed, in a democracy, Governments are a great deal more responsive to the pressures of public opinion than commercial undertakings. It is hard to believe, therefore, that a democracy which has regard for the needs of minorities and where the majority respect traditional values can afford to have as its principal broadcasting authority in a medium so powerful as television anything but a public service, trusted and independent.

The Development of the Overseas Civil Service

BY A. R. THOMAS, C.M.G.

Mr. Thomas is an Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, responsible for the Overseas Service Division of that Department, and also is Director of Recruitment.

AT a time when many Governments, as well as the United Nations Organisation and its specialised agencies, are stressing the importance of giving technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries, it is a source of pride and satisfaction to all who know of the work of Her Majesty's Colonial Service (as it was called until 1954) and of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service (as it is called today) to reflect that through that Service the United Kingdom, with some help from other countries of the British Commonwealth, has been providing a continuing stream of skilled manpower to aid in the administration and development of the dependent territories of the United Kingdom for the past two generations.

RECRUITMENT

To give some measure of the present extent of that assistance, it may be noted that the number of "overseas" officers at present serving under the various Colonial Governments is not far short of 20,000; and that in 1957 approximately 1,300 appointments, mostly of higher professional personnel, were made through the Colonial Office selection machinery. The latter figure includes some 300 education officers for service as teachers in secondary schools, lecturers in training colleges, inspectors of schools and administrators in overseas Education Departments; 170 engineers (mostly civil, but also mechanical and electrical) to assist in the construction of roads, schools and hospitals and the multifarious other activities of overseas Public Works and other technical Departments; 100 medical officers; and close on 100 administrative officers, for service in field duties (which include the planning and co-ordination of development schemes and the promotion of local government institutions), and in Secretariats and Ministries. Other categories include agricultural, forestry and veterinary officers, architects and town planners, surveyors and geological surveyors, and a wide variety of other specialist officers. Generally speaking, the appointments dealt with by the Colonial Office are ones requiring a University degree or full professional qualifications.

Alongside the Colonial Office, the Crown Agents for Oversea Governments and Administrations recruit extensively on behalf of the Colonial Governments in fields which call for technical qualifications or experience, but not university degrees or full professional qualifications. The intake through the Crown Agents' appointments machinery in 1957 was approximately 1,350 and included engineering inspectors of works, radio and telecommunications technicians, agricultural superintendents and livestock officers, railway and marine technicians, accountants, health inspectors, assistant meteorologists, hydrological inspectors and many other categories.

There are, of course, other channels of recruitment from the United Kingdom to the overseas dependent territories including the Inter-University Council which assists in the provision of academic staff for overseas Universities, and the Council for Overseas Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology, which recruits on behalf of overseas Technical Colleges. Certain overseas public utilities, such as railway and coal corporations and harbour boards, have their own separate recruiting organisations. These, however, are autonomous bodies, whose staff are not part of the Government Services or members of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service, and it is unnecessary in the present context to do more than mention them as making up the general picture of the extent to which skilled personnel from the United Kingdom is at present being provided to meet the needs of the dependent territories.

Some recruitment also takes place from this country into the Public Services of independent Governments. The Governments of Ghana and of the Federation of Malaya, for example, are continuing to do a certain amount of recruitment through their official representatives in the United Kingdom. In those particular countries, moreover, there remain considerable numbers of overseas officers who, while now wholly members of the Ghana and Malayan Public Services, were recruited in the pre-Independence era as members of the old Colonial Service or Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service and, by agreement with the Governments concerned, retain their former eligibility to be considered by the Secretary of State for the Colonies for transfers and promotions to the territories in which Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service operates.

THE TERRITORIES CONCERNED

The territories in which that Service operates are then the dependent territories of the United Kingdom. They fall for the most part into fairly obvious regional groups. There is West Africa, with its three dependent British territories of the Gambia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria; East Africa, comprising Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and the Protected Island State of Zanzibar; the Central African territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which form part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with Southern Rhodesia, in which latter territory, however, Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service has never operated; the three High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland; the British Somaliland Protectorate and Aden; the Mediterranean Colonies of Cyprus, Malta and Gibraltar (although it is only in Cyprus that any sizeable "overseas" staff is maintained); the Far Eastern group comprising Singapore, British North Borneo, Sarawak and Hong Kong; the Pacific territories of Fiji, the Solomon Islands and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands; the Colonies of the Caribbean region, comprising the mainland territories of British Guiana and British Honduras, as well as Jamaica, Trinidad and the other islands which form part of the new Caribbean Federation; Bermuda and the Bahamas; and a number of other scattered islands such as Mauritius, St. Helena and the Falklands which defy any efforts by the tidy mind to fit them conveniently into any regional group.

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It is, of course, the larger mainland territories of Africa in which the bulk of the Overseas Service is to be found and to which the major part of current recruitment takes place. Out of approximately 1,300 appointments made in 1957 through the Colonial Office, approximately 900 were to West, East and Central Africa; the largest "employers" of overseas staff being Kenya, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Nigeria. The numbers employed in, and currently recruited to, areas outside Africa are in comparison small; and in some of the smaller and more highly developed territories the dependence on overseas officers is very small indeed.

THE METHODS OF APPOINTMENT

Every applicant who is *prima facie* qualified for consideration of appointment to the service of an overseas Government through the Colonial Office is required to fill in an application form bearing the registration mark "P.I." "P" is for "Patronage." But let no one think that there is any shred of "patronage" in the method by which these appointments are made! The term is an interesting survival from the days when appointments made through the Colonial Office came directly under the wing of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the responsibility for selections and recommendations rested with a Private Secretary (Appointments). Even in those days the Private Secretary had a considerable staff to assist him and selections were made scientifically and on merit. In form at least, however, the system became something of an anachronism and gave place nearly thirty years ago to a separate and highly organised division of the Colonial Office which, with some later modifications and rearrangements, formed the basis of the organisation of recruitment today.

It was at the same time as this change was recommended that other aspects of the system of appointments and the organisation of the Service were brought under critical review. Before 1930, there was no "Colonial Service" in the sense in which that term came later to be understood. Constitutionally it would be more correct to say that there were a large number of separate Colonial Services. Each territory maintained (as indeed it still does) its own separate Service and an officer selected was appointed to a particular Service, such as the Nigerian Service or the Gold Coast Service, without any of the rights or obligations arising from membership of a wider Service. True, certain modifications had been introduced which make it necessary to qualify this generalisation. One branch of the Service, the Colonial Audit Service, had been organised on a more centralised basis and its members were liable to accept transfer from one territory to another. As long ago as 1901, the separate Medical Services of the West African Colonies and Protectorates were amalgamated into a single West African Medical Staff with uniform terms of service and a liability to serve in any territory in that region. A similar amalgamation of the Medical Services of the East African Territories was carried out in 1920. In other branches as well, a degree of unity was recognised in the promotions system under which, in the filling of higher administrative and professional appointments in the separate Services, officers already serving in other Colonial Services were given prior consideration over "outside" candidates and arrangements existed to provide the

Secretary of State with the material he needed for arranging inter-Service promotions on the criteria of qualifications, experience and merit. Furthermore, in the important aspect of pension schemes, a beginning had been made in the system of inter-Colonial "scheduling" under which fair provision is made for the cases of officers whose service is not confined to one territory. There may have been other exceptions. Broadly speaking, however, the picture was one of a large number of independent Services, presenting a wide variety in terms and conditions of service, such as salary scales and leave and passage arrangements, whose members, subject to the qualifications noted above, worked in water-tight departments and had less prospect of serving in more than a single territory than to many seemed sensible from the point of view of an economical disposition of forces.

It was in these circumstances that a Committee was appointed in 1929 under the chairmanship of Sir Warren Fisher, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, "to consider the existing system of appointment in the Colonial Office and in the Public Service of the Dependencies not possessing responsible government, and to make such recommendations as may be considered desirable." In its Report,* issued a year later, this Committee gave authoritative backing to the idea of creating a single Colonial Service, to include within this larger whole unified functional services such as the Colonial Administrative Service, the Colonial Medical Service, the Colonial Educational Service, etc., with the necessary degree of assimilation of the terms of service in the separate Dependencies. The Committee was impressed with the way in which expert opinion had been moving towards the view that the system of independent and self-contained Services had had its day; and with the advantages to be gained from a unification of these Services. These advantages it summarised as follows:

"(1) A wider recognition of the principle of inter-Colonial movement of officers particularly in the professional and technical branches of the Service;

"(2) The increased prospect of a career of oversea public service unlimited to a particular Dependency or a particular regional group of Dependencies, and of promotion on the ground of merit to the highest appointments in the Colonial Service;

"(3) A great addition to the prestige of colonial service, with its consequent effect both on recruitment and on serving officers."

The Committee recognised the difficulties which had previously been held to stand in the way of unification; such as the different climatic and other conditions of life in the various territories; the differences in salary scales and other terms of service; the personal inclinations of many officers for service in particular territories; the need for officers, particularly in the administrative branch, to have an intimate knowledge of local languages and customs; and "the reluctance of many of the Colonial Governments to support any appreciable modification of the existing system of self-contained Services for each Colony, and their power in certain cases to reject financial or other proposals which have been hitherto regarded as necessary steps towards any unification."

*Cmd. 3554

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OVERSEAS CIVIL SERVICE

THE UNIFICATION OF SEPARATE SERVICES

The Committee did not consider any of these objections to be insuperable. Rightly enough—in the light of after events—it picked out the last of the difficulties as “the one which most calls for attention”; and it may perhaps be considered now that the possibility which it saw of reconciling autonomy in the political sphere with participation in a centrally controlled scheme in the sphere of personnel was unduly optimistic. But there can be little doubt of the fact that in the circumstances of the time, the policy of unification which the Warren Fisher Committee recommended and the then Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Passfield) accepted (after it had been endorsed by a plenary Governor's Conference), had many advantages to offer and that much good ensued to the Service and to the territories from the persistent efforts made in the 15-year period from 1930 to 1945 to put that policy into practice. During that period, and for the most part before the outbreak of the second world war in 1939, “a chain of ‘unified’ functional services has been gradually brought into being, beginning with the Colonial Administrative Service in 1932 and ending with the Colonial Engineering Service in 1945, and more recently still the Colonial Civil Aviation Service.”* The procedure adopted in “unifying” a functional service (i.e., in bringing together into a single functional branch of the Colonial Service the staffs of the various territorial Departments concerned) was roughly as follows. First, it was necessary to define who would belong to the new Service. In order to do this a list of “scheduled posts” was drawn up. Any officer at the time holding one of these posts was enrolled as a member of the Service, as were officers subsequently appointed to those posts. The posts included in the new Services were naturally selected from the grades into which it was normal for overseas Governments to recruit from overseas and the policy of unification was not applied to grades which it was normally possible to fill from local sources. At the same time standards of eligibility for membership for each of the unified services were prescribed. Officers selected by the Secretary of State for appointment to a unified service still received their appointments from the Governor of the territory concerned and they became in all respects members of the Public Service of that territory, receiving their salaries and ultimately their pensions from the Colonial Government and accepting the terms and conditions of service locally prescribed. But, at the same time, it was understood that the Secretary of State had an overriding control over the appointment, promotion and retirement of members of a unified service: and its members had both a right to ask to be considered for transfer to other territories and a liability to accept transfer to any scheduled post the general conditions of which were considered by the Secretary of State to be not inferior to those on which they were already serving. (In practice, there was never any serious attempt to enforce this liability against the wishes of the officer; and transfers remained in fact as “voluntary” as they had ever been.) Finally, the creation of the unified services intensified the efforts which had been made for many years to standardise conditions of service

*Ch. 3 “Partners for Progress” by Sir Charles Jeffries, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., to whose authoritative writings on these questions any later writer must acknowledge debt.

throughout the Colonial Empire. These efforts were necessarily made in the face of great difficulties, arising from the wide variety of climatic and other conditions of life in the different Dependencies and—perhaps above all, in the light of developments subsequently—from the fundamental fact that each Colonial Government was constitutionally distinct from all other Colonial Governments and that most Governments even before the war (and even before the advent of unofficial majorities in Legislative Councils) enjoyed in practice, if not in law, a considerable measure of autonomy in their control over establishments and the purse-strings and in the determination of the conditions of service of their own Public Services. In spite of these difficulties, however, the progress made in the twenty years from 1930 to 1950 in ironing out some of the grosser disparities between conditions of service in the different territories was considerable. There is no doubt that within its limits, which with the advantage of hindsight can be recognised now more easily than was possible in 1930, the policy of unification brought benefits both to the Service and to the Colonies and, in particular, gave to the "Colonial Service" a prestige and a degree of rationalisation greater than had been enjoyed by the old "Colonial Services."

The policy of unification rested, however, on two assumptions. The first was that in the higher grades of the Service to which unification was applied (that is to say, those requiring a university degree, professional qualifications, or some special post-secondary training), it was necessary for Colonial Governments to look predominantly if not entirely overseas for candidates because of the lack or insufficiency of qualified candidates at home. The second was that whatever the degree of local autonomy enjoyed constitutionally or allowed in practice, in the last resort the Secretary of State could exercise ultimate control not only over individual appointments and promotions and in disciplinary cases but also over terms and conditions of service. In recent years these two assumptions have been increasingly called in question.

EXPATRIATE OFFICERS

Take first the question of the dependence of Colonial Governments on the outside market for filling their senior appointments. The picture in this respect has changed considerably since 1930. There was, of course, never a time when the great majority of Public Service appointments in the territories was not filled by local recruitment. The Warren Fisher Committee noted* that in 1909 the total staffs of all Government branches in these territories numbered approximately 93,280, while in 1929 the corresponding figure was 220,770. While the numbers of overseas officers in the employment of those Governments in those years are not recorded, they must have represented only a very small proportion of these totals. In 1949, the total strength of the Colonial Service (using that term in its broadest sense of being the sum total of all the members of all the territorial Public Services) was about 300,000 of which only 4 per cent. or some 12,000 had been recruited externally. Qualitatively, however, the overseas officers made a contribution out of all proportion to their numbers because in most territories, and particularly in

*Cmd. 3554, page 6.

Africa, nearly all the higher administrative and professional posts were filled by them, in the absence of qualified local candidates.

With the development of secondary education in the Colonies; the establishment of Universities or University Colleges in West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, the Far East, and the West Indies; the large and steadily increasing numbers of students from Colonial territories pursuing university, technical and other post-secondary courses overseas (there were 10,000 of these students in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland in 1957); and the training courses arranged for serving officers both locally and in the United Kingdom (1,400 locally domiciled officers came to the United Kingdom for this purpose in 1957); the availability of locally domiciled candidates for appointment to the highest grades of the Public Services as well as for entry into business and the professions, has increased greatly. These changes have been stimulated by the natural thirst of the peoples of these territories for education and advancement and made possible by the deliberate policy of Colonial Governments and the United Kingdom Government to provide the necessary facilities. As one example it may be noted that an allocation of £1,000,000 was made by the United Kingdom Government after the war under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act to provide scholarships to enable colonial students to study abroad. The result of these developments has been to remove the easy distinction which existed twenty years ago in most colonial territories and on which the system of "scheduled posts" in the Unified Services was based, between the filling of the administrative and professional grades by overseas recruitment and the filling of the middle and subordinate grades by recruitment locally. Today in all territories, overseas and locally recruited officers serve side by side in the senior grades of the Public Services, although the proportions vary a good deal from, for example, the West Indies where nearly all the higher posts are filled by West Indians and West Africa where a high proportion is filled by Africans, to the East and Central African territories where the proportion of overseas officers in the senior grades is still high. It should be added that it has, of course, been and is the practice whenever possible of Colonial Governments to fill all posts in the basic grades at whatever level by local recruitment and only to request the Colonial Office or the Crown Agents to recruit externally if there are considered to be no suitable and qualified candidates available locally.

CENTRAL VERSUS LOCAL CONTROL

Let us turn now to the second assumption on which the policy of unification rested, namely, that in the last resort it was always possible for the Secretary of State to exercise effective control over the terms and conditions on which the members of the Unified Services served. It must be admitted at once that this has never been fully the case in practice. It has already been noted that difficulty could arise on this score even in early days owing to the degree of practical autonomy exercised by some Colonial Governments. It sometimes seems to be assumed that the difference between a "Dominion" and a Colony is that the former can do what it likes while the latter can be told what to do. One does not have to be deeply versed in Commonwealth

constitutions to know that this is altogether too simple a distinction. The first part of the proposition is true. The second certainly is not. Even in the earliest days, a wise Home Government took heed of local advice (at least one historic example will leap to mind of the consequences of failing to do so!). And with the development of representative systems of government, in which local opinions gain increasing influence in the councils of Government, and still more when a considerable degree of autonomy short of full self-government is formally recognised, the relationship between the Secretary of State and Colonial Governments necessarily changes. Certain of the powers previously exercised through the Governor may be deliberately devolved: but, even where this is not the case, the Secretary of State and the Governor come to depend far more on consultation, discussion and advice than on any constitutional power of direction. In the context of the Public Service it may be noted that it has been customary for Colonial constitutions to provide for the vesting in the Governor of the powers of making appointments to public offices, and of terminating appointments, and of disciplinary control: so that in these aspects of control no difficulty need arise, at least up to a stage at which full self-government is granted or is imminent. Difficulties may, however, arise, and have in fact arisen, over the settlement of terms and conditions of service. For example, an independent Salaries Commission might recommend certain improvements in salary scales, allowances or other conditions of service having regard, say, to a rise in the cost of living. The Secretary of State might consider it fair to serving officers and in the interests of recruitment, that those improvements should be introduced: but whether they are introduced or not depends on the conclusions reached by the Colonial Government and the readiness of the Legislature to vote the requisite funds. The reluctance of Legislatures with unofficial majorities to implement recommendations put forward by Government for salary increases or improvements in conditions of service for overseas officers (to whom alone certain conditions such as expatriation pay and overseas passages apply) has on occasions been a problem in certain territories. Theoretically, if an impasse is reached, the Governor can use his reserve powers to bring about the changes but obviously in practice he and the Secretary of State would be reluctant that he should do so against the will of the Legislature, and might incidentally reckon that in the long run it might be prejudicial to the interests of the Service to do so if such a step was likely to cause lasting resentment on the part of the Legislature. It should not be supposed that in practice these difficulties have been usual. Generally, Colonial Governments and Legislatures have shown a sense of responsibility in their approach to these problems. The example given above will, however, serve to illustrate the difficulty which could arise at an advanced stage of constitutional development in maintaining that the Secretary of State could in all circumstances exercise control over the terms and conditions of service of members of the Unified Services.

Even in the sphere of individual appointments and promotions and disciplinary matters it is possible to see difficulties arising when an advanced stage of constitutional development has been reached. As we have seen, it has been customary in Colonial constitutions to reserve control to the

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Governor in these matters. It is generally accepted that it is a bad thing for morale in any Service, and inimical to a right relationship between a Civil Service and its Ministers, for these matters to be handled by politicians or to be debated in Legislatures. But what is to happen if a stage is reached when all the Governor's powers are devolved? In the absence of other arrangements, these powers would devolve upon representative Ministers and there would be a serious danger that the prejudicial consequences noted above might ensue. To forestall this difficulty, it has been the policy to create independent Public Service Commissions, charged with the responsibility of advising on professional matters affecting the Public Service and, in particular, of making recommendations in regard to appointments and promotions and in disciplinary cases. At a comparatively early stage of constitutional development, before a Ministerial system is introduced, these bodies can be valuable to Governors in an advisory capacity; and in many territories they exist in that capacity, performing a useful role, even though the Governor's final power of decision is unfettered. At the final stage in the devolution of powers, if a Colony attains independence, they provide a ready-made experienced instrument for the assumption of full responsibility for the exercise of the powers in relation to the Public Service previously exercised by the Governor. This is a process which has come to be known as "the Public Service Commission becoming executive." The pattern was established, so far as the British Colonies are concerned, when Ceylon attained Dominion status in 1948. The powers formerly exercised by the Governor in Public Service matters passed to an executive Public Service Commission whose recommendations as regards appointments, etc., the Governor-General was bound constitutionally to approve. The pattern of Ceylon has been followed in Ghana and in the regions of Nigeria which have been granted self-government, as well as in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore; and seems to have worked satisfactorily. It constitutes a vital element in the policy, pursued by United Kingdom Governments and accepted by responsible overseas political leaders, of ensuring under self-government a continued recognition of the principle that the Public Service should be free from political influences and control.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL MINISTERIAL CONTROL

We have now travelled far enough in our review of the developments which have affected the evolution of the Public Services of the dependent territories to realise that since the heyday of the policy of unification of the Colonial Services in the 1930's and early 1940's, a contrary tendency has been at work. With the attainment of self-government in certain territories and a gathering momentum in a number of other territories towards that goal, the pressures in the last ten years have been in the direction of less rather than more effective control from the centre and of less rather than more uniformity in conditions of service. This undoubtedly caused disappointment among many expatriate members of the "Unified" Services, particularly as

the realisation of the limitations of "unification" came at a time when the advance towards self-government was in itself causing stresses and strains in particular territories. The introduction of a Ministerial system of Government under which the policies which civil servants were required to implement came to be determined by elected Ministers, constituted in itself a novel situation for officers who had been recruited in the days of a "Colonial régime." The Service showed a commendable attitude of adaptation to new circumstances but there was apprehension that political influence and control might come to extend to civil service appointments and promotions; that preference would be given in promotions to local officers; that the position of the "expatriate" officer would be prejudiced and ultimately become untenable; that he might be required to implement policies which in his conscience he could not approve; and that his career, and the fortunes of himself and his family would cease to be the concern, or at least in the effective control, of the Secretary of State and come to depend on the decisions of local Ministers. The fact that these developments were, to a large extent, "apprehended" rather than experienced, did not reduce the anxiety.

There was another side as well to the problem. It has been traditionally recognised that if owing to constitutional changes fundamental alterations have to be made in the terms and conditions on which officers have been recruited and are serving, it may become necessary to introduce special retirement schemes to enable those who find it difficult to go on serving in the new conditions to retire prematurely with compensation. Although the actual schemes varied considerably, precedents for this principle existed from the days when Egypt, India and Ceylon attained Independence. It was decided that circumstances in the Gold Coast, where authority was to be progressively devolved until a point was reached when shortly before Independence the responsibilities traditionally exercised by the Governor and the Secretary of State in relation to the Public Service would be finally transferred to a local executive Public Service Commission, necessitated the introduction of a scheme of retirement under which overseas pensionable officers would be able to opt voluntarily to retire on pension with lump sum compensation for loss of career. It was foreseen that similar schemes (though with considerable local variations) might also have to be adopted in other territories in which similar changes occurred; and in fact since that time schemes have been introduced in the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and parts of Nigeria. While from one point of view the introduction of such schemes appeared to be an inescapable obligation on the part of the Secretary of State towards those officers for whose appointment on other conditions he had been responsible, from the point of view of the administration of the territories affected it was bound to have an unfortunate effect in "thinning out" the ranks of the skilled expatriate members of the Service at a time when it was important to keep the administrative machine functioning efficiently and when it was generally recognised that as yet an insufficient number of qualified and experienced local officers were available to replace them.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OVERSEAS CIVIL SERVICE

REORGANISATION OF THE COLONIAL SERVICE

It was against this background, which by that time had revealed itself principally in West Africa, that in 1954 the United Kingdom Government published its first new statement of policy under the title "Reorganisation of the Colonial Service" (Colonial No. 306). Published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office for 4d. net, this little document constituted a rather important step. True, there were not lacking critics who said that apart from changing the name of the old Colonial Service (which they usually claimed to prefer) to Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service, it left everything unchanged; and it disappointed those who had been hoping that some dramatic solution might be found through the creation of a "Commonwealth Service" or a central Overseas Service directly employed by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. It was in fact never intended to be as ambitious as that (although it contained an indication that Her Majesty's Government were aware that various proposals on these lines had been put forward and that, while they raised complicated administrative and constitutional, as well as financial, problems, they would be examined further in the light of changing conditions and that development along such lines was not excluded by the present statement). One contribution made by Colonial No. 306 was to recognise publicly the existence of a problem which had tended previously to be whispered in dark corners, namely, the anxieties felt by many overseas officers over the possible effects on their careers of the movement towards self-government; and the set-back to the progress of the territories which would be caused by the premature loss of experienced staff or by failure to attract new staff. "There is a problem here which cannot be solved by the territorial governments alone or by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom alone. Both sides must act in partnership." Secondly, Colonial No. 306 expressed publicly and explicitly on behalf of Her Majesty's Government the special obligation felt by that Government towards those officers who held their posts as a result of having been selected for them by the Secretary of State.

"6. . . . So long as Her Majesty's Government retains responsibility for the Government of the territory in which they are serving the necessary safeguards are provided by the Colonial Regulations or the constitutional instruments. Should the territory in whose public service they are employed attain self-government, these officers are entitled to expect that the following conditions will be observed:

- (1) So long as they remain in their existing employment, the Government of the territory concerned shall not alter their terms of service so as to make them less favourable than those on which the officers are already serving.
- (2) The pensions and other benefits for which they or their dependants may be qualified under existing laws and regulations shall be similarly safeguarded.
- (3) They shall continue to be regarded by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as members of Her Majesty's Service and as such to be eligible for consideration for transfer or promotion to any posts which the Secretary of State may be requested to fill in other territories.

- (4) The government by which they are employed will not unreasonably withhold consent to their accepting any such transfer or promotion and will preserve their existing pension rights on transfer.
 - (5) They will be given adequate notice of any intention to terminate their employment in consequence of constitutional changes and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will endeavour to find them alternative employment should they so desire.
 - (6) In the event of premature retirement resulting from constitutional changes they will receive compensation from the government of the territory concerned.
- "7. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom accordingly make known their intention, if and when a territory attains self-government, to ensure the observance of these conditions by securing their embodiment in a formal agreement, to be entered into between Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the government of the territory. The agreement will also provide for the continuing payment of pensions already awarded to officers and their dependants."

Thirdly, Her Majesty's Government in the new White Paper recognised the need to specify as precisely as possible the extent of its obligations and with this in mind, stated that a list would be compiled of all officers in the Colonial Service to whom the arrangements outlined in the above quotation were regarded as applying; and that the officers included in the list would be given the new corporate title of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service. Thus, in contrast to the "Colonial Service" which in its widest sense had been held to comprehend all the members of the public services of the dependent territories, Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service was to be confined to a much smaller body of officers, for the most part overseas officers but also including local officers who had previously been members of the "Unified Services," to whom the special obligations announced in the White Paper were to apply. It was also to be made clear in making new appointments whether or not, in addition to receiving an appointment to a territorial Public Service, a selected candidate was to be enrolled as a member of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service.

Reactions to this declaration of policy varied widely. Some saw in it "nothing but a change of name." Others saw in it the "complete answer." Both these extreme reactions were exaggerated. A balanced appraisal would probably be that the statement had a steadying effect and that, other considerations apart, there was virtue in the fact that at last the subject had been openly ventilated. Moreover, the undertakings promised were quickly and visibly fulfilled in the Gold Coast, which was the first territory to become independent after the issue of Colonial No. 306. Already compensation terms had been settled. It was also agreed that officers who continued to serve (as they were welcome to do) in Ghana would retain their previous eligibility to be considered by the Secretary of State for transfer or promotion to other territories. These arrangements, together with the other conditions listed in paragraph 6 of Colonial No. 306, were duly confirmed in a Public Officers' Agreement between Her Majesty's Government in the United

Kingdom and Her Majesty's Government in Ghana signed at the time of Independence. It is intended that there should be similar Agreements for other territories attaining full self-government or Independence.

The problem was, however, not a static one. The United Kingdom Government had stated its readiness in Colonial No. 306 to consider the practicability of other proposals which had been put forward for constituting a Commonwealth Service or an Overseas Service directly employed by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Further, the need was particularly acute in Nigeria of finding an effective answer to the problem of mitigating the acute staffing difficulties which seemed likely to be caused if a considerable exodus of overseas officers took place after the introduction of retirement schemes which were planned to accompany the advent of self-government. Accordingly, in May, 1956, almost exactly two years after the publication of Colonial No. 306, a further statement of policy regarding the organisation of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service was issued.* This statement fell into two parts. The first part (paragraphs 2-4) was concerned with the general problem of helping colonial territories as they approached and attained self-government to satisfy their need for the assistance of officers possessing exceptional administrative or professional qualifications. In order to meet these needs, Her Majesty's Government stated its intention of recruiting people with the necessary qualifications for secondment to overseas Governments as required. Lists would be prepared of those who were ready and available to accept service of this kind, and if the demand rose to substantial proportions, they would come into the regular employment of the United Kingdom Government for service overseas.

The second part of the statement (paragraphs 5-8) was concerned with the special problem of Nigeria. Here, there were four separate Services, serving the Federal Government and the Governments of the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions respectively. These four Services had been formed out of the former unitary Nigerian Service in 1954, following political agreement to establish three separate Regional Governments within the Federation, in place of the former Government of Nigeria. It was agreed in the Constitutional Conference of 1953-54 that regional self-government would be granted to any Region which asked for it in 1956 or later; and that, as part of a number of concomitant changes affecting the Public Services, responsibility in the matter of appointments, promotions and discipline would be transferred to an executive Public Service Commission on the attainment of self-government in any Region and that a scheme of retirement with compensation for loss of career would be introduced. In the event the Governments of the Western and Eastern Regions requested and were granted regional self-government in 1957 and the Government of the Northern Region has been promised it for 1959. The indications were that a considerable exodus of overseas officers could be expected on the attainment of self-government and that this would be likely to have a serious effect on the administrations of the Western and Eastern Regions where it is likely to take a number of years before sufficient local officers of the necessary experience are available to take their places, and a much more serious effect on the administration

*Cmd. 9768.

of the Northern Region because of the relatively greater shortage in that Region of qualified and experienced local officers.

In anticipation of this problem the United Kingdom Government announced in Cmd. 9768 a scheme which was designed to give to officers serving in Nigeria certain special assurances regarding their future position in that territory and also regarding their further employment in the event of their services there coming to be no longer required. This scheme (which became known as the "Special List" scheme) proved in its original form to be inadequate and was supplemented by new Special List proposals announced in a later Command Paper (Cmd. 497) published in July, 1958. These new proposals have been accepted by the Governments of the Federation of Nigeria and of the Northern Region, but modifications have been proposed by the Governments of the Western and Eastern Regions. It is not proposed in this general article to go into the details of this scheme, which has been specially designed to meet the conditions of one particular territory. It can, however, be said that in its revised form it seems likely to give a considerable degree of reassurance to many overseas officers serving in Nigeria and to result in many more being willing to remain after self-government than would otherwise have been the case.

Meanwhile, some consideration has been given to the proposals made in paragraphs 2-4 of Cmd. 9768 for the formation of a Central Pool of officers who, if the demand justified it, might be appointed into the employment of the United Kingdom Government for service overseas. Legislative action has already been taken to make such appointments possible but it is not yet clear whether there is, in fact, likely to be a demand for this type of service nor whether, if there were, the practical difficulties inherent in a scheme of this sort could be overcome. These difficulties are quite considerable, for what is involved is the assumption by the authority organising this form of service of responsibilities for recruiting and ensuring continuing career employment for officers, without at the same time having any effective control over the appointments (under other authorities) to which those officers might be posted. In order to make such a service attractive it would be necessary that its members should be able to count on a succession of appointments being available to them under overseas Governments (since it is improbable that any one "assignment" would be of more than a few years' duration). It would also be necessary that these appointments should offer to each officer an ascending scale of responsibility and status, as well as salary, as his age and experience increased. Since appointments would depend on the occurrence of appropriate vacancies under other authorities and on the willingness of those authorities to accept the loan for particular officers on such and such terms, it is not clear that there is here a sound enough basis upon which any Government could undertake the responsibility of recruiting and ensuring career employment for "its" officers. It seems that a scheme of this kind is most likely to be practicable if the appointing authority has available within its own control and on its own establishment a sufficiency of similar appointments into which members of a Pool appointed for overseas service could be absorbed, should there be no overseas assignments available for them.

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THE COLONIAL OFFICE'S CONTRIBUTION

In this context, it is of interest to note that currently and in recent years it is and has been the practice for a not inconsiderable number of appointments made through the Colonial Office to the service of overseas Governments to be made on some form of secondment from particular United Kingdom employing authorities ; or at least on terms which preserve or continue their superannuation rights with the home authorities and sometimes provide for reversion to home employment. In the field of research, there are " Colonial Pools " of entomologists, plant pathologists and soil surveyors, which are administered by Institutions in the United Kingdom and the members of which are available for overseas assignments. A number of appointments overseas are made of members of United Kingdom Government Departments, such as the General Post Office, the Board of Customs and Excise and the Board of Inland Revenue, on terms which usually provide for their temporary transfer in the first instance at the end of which they have the option to revert to their parent Departments or, if their services are still required by the overseas Government, of permanent transfer to its service. The British Broadcasting Corporation have also given great help to colonial broadcasting services by allowing their officers to be seconded to overseas Governments and have in fact been their main source of supply for senior broadcasting staff. Somewhat analogous arrangements exist in other fields. The system is a valuable one and is made practicable in each case by the existence of a home-based institution from whose staff secondments can be made and to which, if necessary, seconded officers can return.

Arrangements of this kind represent, however, only a small proportion of the total number of appointments made on behalf of overseas Governments by the Colonial Office. The great majority of appointments continue to be made on permanent and pensionable terms or on contract. There is no one " pattern " which fits all types of appointments or all territories, and considerable elasticity is required in the approach of those who help in the fascinating and rewarding task of helping to " service " overseas Governments with the staff which they need from overseas. Meanwhile, Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service continues to give of its best and, by ensuring the maintenance of high standards and a continuation of those traditions of integrity, impartiality and ability for which it has earned an enviable reputation, continues to provide an instrument of proven value through which the United Kingdom Government can continue to discharge its responsibilities to its dependent territories and from which, in association with the steadily increasing number of its locally recruited colleagues, Colonial Governments continue to derive acknowledged value.

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The Town Clerk as Co-ordinator

BY T. HEADRICK

A first article by Mr. Headrick dealing with the education of the Town Clerk appeared in the Autumn issue. Mr. Headrick spent two years at Oxford as a Fulbright Scholar, during which time he interviewed a number of Town Clerks and other chief officers.

THE Town Clerk's position in relation to the other chief officers is a curious one. He is neither equal with them nor superior to them. Or perhaps, it might be better said, he is both equal to them and superior; or maybe, at times equal and at times superior. In practice his position is a mixture of these possibilities.

The Town Clerk is the Council's legal adviser. This means he is also the legal adviser to the other departments, just as the Treasurer is financial adviser to the other departments and the Architect places his architectural knowledge and talents at their disposal. In the larger Boroughs, the Town Clerk, of course, has a legal staff which handles the corporation's legal matters and tenders advice to the other departments when they request it. In the very large authority the routine requests are routed directly to the Legal Section. The more difficult problems, however, would be sent to the Town Clerk himself who would then decide how and by whom they should be handled. In the middle-sized authorities a similar practice prevails, but, undoubtedly the scope of what is "routine" is somewhat more limited. In the smaller authority, however, where the Town Clerk deals with almost all of the actual legal work himself, the contacts quite naturally are directly with him. Thus, in these matters, a Town Clerk is very much a Technical Officer supplying technical advice to the other departments. And in so doing he is brought in contact with every department of the corporation at one time or another.

If the sizes of the legal staffs in the Town Clerk's Departments are any indication, this work certainly constitutes the basis for a substantial proportion of the contacts between the Town Clerk's and the other departments of the Council. And, undoubtedly, this work forms an important part of any Town Clerk's responsibilities. But in terms of the overall administrative machinery, its importance, if not its magnitude, is overshadowed by another function which has come to be regarded as the responsibility of the Town Clerk: the function of departmental co-ordination.

It is felt generally that each service provided by a local authority is part of a unified whole, part of the general provision to meet the needs and requirements of a defined area. Consequently, it is also felt that there should be some means of co-ordinating the various services. On the committee side this may be done by the Council itself in the smaller authority, or by a General Purposes, or Policy Advisory, or Co-ordination Committee in the larger authority and by various other means. But there is also a need on the departmental side for a complement to these methods and efforts. In short, there is a need for a co-ordinator among the officers and departments.

Although the work of most departments is organised parallel to one or two committees, there are two departments which serve all committees and all the other departments, that is, the Town Clerk's Department and the

Treasurer's (or Finance) Department. It would, therefore, seem reasonable to assume that either the Town Clerk or the Treasurer should become the co-ordinator. In fact, by force of tradition and of considered opinion over the past thirty-five years, the Town Clerk has been so designated. There are a number of reasons which are usually given for this choice: (1) the Town Clerk is the centre of the committee preparation and activity which is an integral part of an authority's machinery; (2) the Town Clerk is the chief means of contact with the world outside the authority; and (3) the Treasurer's characteristic concern with the financial aspects of any matter is too narrow a viewpoint for an effective co-ordinator. Other reasons are often given, but these three are the most significant.

The recognition of the need for co-ordination and the nomination of a co-ordinator are only two-thirds of the solution to the problem. It must be determined what is meant by or what is involved in departmental co-ordination. A brief review of the major developments in this regard over the past forty years may throw some light on this question.

WHAT IS INVOLVED

The first evidence of central concern for this problem was shown in the *Ministry of Health Annual Report* for 1923-24. It was observed (on page 62) that:

It is manifest that a Town Clerk or any other officer could not properly dictate to other persons in the employment of the Local Authority, the Medical Officer of Health or the Engineer, for instance, what they should do in the details of technical matter within their particular purview. Nor could any Local Authority impose on any one of their officers duties in conflict with those conferred on any other officers by statute or by central regulations.

The proposal to make some one officer definitely responsible for the general supervision of the whole of the business of the Local Authority, and their chief adviser on all matters of policy is, however, a different question.

The Report went on to speculate:

There appears to be room for consideration, whether while maintaining to the full the traditions of local government service and, especially, of democratic control, the time has not come for some further development of the administrative arrangements of the Local Authorities, and for having one chief official who, whatever his title, shall be in a position of definite responsibility for the general official organisation.

It may be premature to express any decided opinion on this possible development, but the question clearly merits attention. Two conditions would always have to be fulfilled: (1) the unquestioned control of the elected body; (2) no derogation from the responsibility of the present principal officers. The value of any such chief official as has been suggested would depend very largely on his exercising general control, on his not attempting to do the detailed work of officers expressly appointed because of their specialised qualifications, and on his working in full harmony with them.

The Report established what has come to be recognised as its broad theoretical basis for the relationship. But quite obviously if some working system is to be achieved a more definite agreement on the important concepts is necessary. For instance, what is meant by "general supervision of the whole of the business of the Local Authority" or "definite responsibility for the general official organisation" when one notes also that there is to be "no derogation from the responsibility of the present principal officers," nor dictation concerning the "details of technical matters within their particular purview," nor an imposition upon the Town Clerk of "duties in conflict with those conferred on any other officers by statute or by central regulations." Interpreted quite literally, the Ministry seemed to have had in mind the assumption by the Town Clerk of a new service in local government, the service of co-ordination, which could be performed without altering the existing administrative structure.

The Royal Commission on Local Government, at page 137 of its final report in 1929, carried the point further. In considering the position of the Town Clerk as departmental co-ordinator, the Commission concluded that, . . . the Clerk need not, and should not, interfere with the technical staff on technical questions; and in particular the responsibility of the Chief Financial Officer for financial administration should be clearly recognised; further, technical officers should not be debarred from direct access to the Committees of the Council. The questions on such points become largely academic, once the principles are established that the Clerk must be kept informed of the activities of the various departments, and of the reports which the chief officers thereof make to the Council or Committees; that the Clerk is responsible for seeing that proper co-operation exists between the various departments, and for advising the Council thereon; and that the Clerk is the channel through which the Authority conducts official correspondence.

The Commission was thus of the opinion that the Town Clerk should have a right to be informed of what was happening in each department and that where he saw the need for some co-operation, he should take measures necessary to ensure it. None the less, the technical officers should still have direct access to their Committees and have the right to report to the Council. The extent of the Town Clerk's power to interfere with the technical departments should be (1) to require information; (2) to see the officer's reports to the Council and the Committees; and (3) to secure co-operation where a matter of general policy was concerned.

The evidence given before the Commission is instructive in this regard. The late Sir Arthur Robinson, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Health, saw the situation in this way:

"There was," he said, "a sphere for the professional officer, which was a distinctly professional sphere, in which the Clerk as the general administrator would not interfere, but where a professional sphere impinges on the general sphere of policy of the Council, then the Clerk comes in."¹ As the Town Clerk of a large southern Borough recently said he would never interfere with the Engineer's selection of the kind of bridge to be built,

¹Royal Commission on Local Government, Minutes of Evidence, Vol. XIV, Qs 40,372-89.

but he would be directly concerned with a proposal by the Engineer to widen a street in the Town Centre, the distinction being that in the former the entire decision depended upon the Engineer's technical knowledge of bridge-building, whereas in the latter, although resting to some extent upon the Engineer's knowledge of road needs and construction, the decision also involved many considerations outside the Engineer's professional sphere. The basic reason for insisting upon this departmental independence was advanced to the Commission by Mr. J. Ernest Jarratt, then Town Clerk of Southport and representative of the Society of Town Clerks :

The inconveniences, of course, are that when you are appointing the head of another department, if you make him feel that the good work of his department is to depend on his own organisation, you may get some results ; but if you interfere with the administration of his staff by making him subordinate to some other officer, you have lessened his sense of responsibility. The general experience locally is that we get better administration by looking to the separate head of a department for work within his own department and superimposing upon that the responsibility of the Town Clerk to co-ordinate the whole thing, with assistance from the Council and Committees. And in consultation with the heads of the departments.²

The principle here is quite clear : placing responsibility on a chief officer for his department leads to a higher quality officer and a more efficient department. But likewise, this departmental efficiency may be offset by an overall inefficiency caused by a lack of co-ordination.

The problem can thus be narrowed. Like so many problems of government, it is an attempt to find the proper dividing place, the delicate balance, between the control necessary to achieve adequate co-ordination and the freedom necessary to ensure responsibility and efficiency. The key to this is the matter of subordination. Given the structure and the traditions of local administration, one must accept that complete subordination of the chief officers to the Town Clerk is not very feasible. But neither the structure nor the traditions rule out the possibility of a partial subordination, that is, in respect of certain activities in local administration which have an overall influence or of certain procedures which contribute to overall efficiency.

One important factor in this relationship is, therefore, the recognition by the chief officers of their partial subordination to the Town Clerk. The seeds for this recognition have existed at least since the Royal Commission. The evidence given before the Commission by the various associations of chief officers indicated a grudging willingness, but willingness none the less, to give this recognition.³ It was the Conditions of Service, negotiated separately for Town Clerks (and District Clerks) in 1949 and for the chief officers in 1950, which formalised this process of recognition and helped to crystallise this viewpoint. The first section of the Conditions negotiated for the Town Clerks reads :

The clerk shall be the chief executive and administrative officer of the

²Ibid Vol. XIII, Qs. 38,191-92.

³Ibid, Final Report, 1929, pp. 132-33.

Council. He shall be responsible for co-ordinating the whole of the work of Council.⁴

That this caused some concern among the other chief officers is evidenced first of all by an article which appeared in the *Municipal Journal* not long after these recommendations were published. Written by a Treasurer and supposedly addressed to the problem whether the Clerk or the Treasurer should be the chief executive officer, it was in fact an impassioned criticism of section one of the Town Clerks' Conditions, and at the same time an admission that the Clerk is the chief administrative officer.⁵ Secondly, it is evidenced by the first section which the other chief officers negotiated a year later for their own Conditions :

A chief officer shall be the executive and administrative head of the department of which he is the chief officer. He shall be responsible therefore to the council through the appropriate committees.⁶

In terms of any definition of the position of the co-ordinator and his relations with the other departments, this attack and counter-attack settled nothing. There is less in these two general statements than what the Ministry of Health had suggested over twenty years previous. But the Ministry was indicating what *could* be : the Conditions, generally accepted by all authorities, indicate what *now is*. More important they provided something in writing, something generally agreed to, which can be, and is, pointed to by all Town Clerks and accepted by most chief officers, to the effect that the Town Clerk is the chief administrative officer, the departmental co-ordinator. It was, therefore, a major step in general recognition by the chief officers of their partial subordination to the Town Clerk and a basic step upon which a more defined relationship could be built.

An attempt at such definition was made in respect of Coventry by the Treasury Organisation and Methods Division in 1953. In its Final Report (page 7) the Division concluded :

... it is of fundamental importance to consider allocating the duties to a post of Town Clerk very different in conception from one which has come to be regarded by tradition as carrying primary responsibility for the Corporation's legal and secretarial work, with the nominal and largely undefined role of " Chief Administrative Officer " tacked on, as it were, by an afterthought.

To remedy this the Division suggested that certain duties should be assigned to the Town Clerk, under the control of the Establishments and General Administration Committee :

- (1) To take a continuing interest in the effectiveness and economy of all administrative arrangements throughout the Corporation.
- (2) To ensure that administrative activities with which two or more Departments are concerned are effectively co-ordinated.
- (3) To act as Establishment Officer and to arrange for the provision of

⁴Recommendations of the Joint Negotiating Committee for Town Clerks and District Council Clerks, 8th September, 1949, Second Schedule, para. 1.

⁵(Anonymous) " Clerk or Treasurer " 58 *Mun. Journ.* 1743 (1950).

⁶Recommendations of the Joint Negotiating Committee Chief Officers of Local Authorities, 12th September, 1950, Second Schedule, para. 1.

common office services where it is more economical to provide them on a centralised basis.

- (4) To furnish an O. and M. service for all Departments.
- (5) To maintain a broad view of the balance and effectiveness of arrangements made to carry out the policy laid down by the Council, and to bring to the notice of Departments (and Committees) the need for any change.

"These duties are wholly administrative and constitute those of a Chief Administrative Officer in the full sense of the term," the Division asserted.

As Chief Administrative Officer or departmental co-ordinator, therefore, the Town Clerk should, according to the Report, be superior to the chief officers in certain areas of operation which affect all departments. The foremost of these is the area of establishment. By this was meant establishment work in the broad sense, that is, recruitment, training, promotion, inter-departmental transfer, grading and a continual review of the existing arrangements. To permit the initiative to come from the Town Clerk in these matters, he should also be in charge of organisation and methods work within the administration with the power to examine the procedures, systems and forms used by the various departments. And similarly, he should be able to arrange for the provision of common office services, such as, receipt and dispatch of mail, office furniture and equipment, telephone installations and typing services including training of typists and a central copy-typing pool. Establishment, organisation and methods, and common services are the three areas in which the chief officers should be subordinate to the Town Clerk. Beyond this there are to be occasions when the Town Clerk has a right to enter the scene. Principally this is when two or more departments are involved in a single activity; then the Town Clerk should have a duty to see that the departments co-operate with each other. In addition, the fundamental aim of the Town Clerk in this work should be economy in administrative arrangements and balance in the execution of policy. Where in his opinion these aims are not being realised, he should call the department's attention to the need for a change. Moreover, in all this work, the Town Clerk should be accountable to a special co-ordinating committee, the Establishment and General Administration Committee.

This consideration of the development of the Town Clerk as Chief Administrative Officer stemmed from an inquiry into what is meant by departmental co-ordination. A very good answer is given in the Coventry Report, but it represents a present ideal rather than a present reality. Some Town Clerks in their actions come closer to the Report's implicit definition of a co-ordinator than others, but the actions of none fit it completely. None the less, almost all Town Clerks have frequent contact with the chief officers and provide some departmental co-ordination. It is circumstances of this contact and these methods of co-ordination to which attention is now turned.

THE ROLE OF THE TREASURER

Before launching directly into these various methods of co-ordination it is well to consider who these chief officers are and what problems some of them

raise for the Town Clerk by virtue of their positions. By Section 106 of the Local Government Act, 1933, Boroughs must appoint, in addition to the Town Clerk, a Borough Treasurer, a Borough Surveyor, a Medical Officer of Health, and a Public Health Inspector. If it is a County Borough, it must also appoint a Chief Education Officer, a Children's Officer, and a Chief Constable. These chief officials form the hard-core of those with whom the Town Clerk frequently deals. In the larger authority there are many more than are required by statute; an Architect, a Planning Officer, a Water Engineer, a Housing Manager, and Parks Superintendent are but a few examples. Each chief officer is at the head of his own department, and reports in most cases to one particular committee. It is self-evident that as the number of departments and chief officers increase, the difficulties of the Town Clerk in bringing about departmental co-ordination increase as well. The Town Clerk who can bring together four or five other officers and survey the work of the entire corporation is perforce in a much stronger position than the Town Clerk who must bring together twenty or more officers to accomplish the same thing; not only from the point of view of the increased scope of the corporation's services, but also from the point of view of having more people with whom to deal.

But there are other factors as well. Some chief officers and departments are competing co-ordinators, that is, they regularly provide advice throughout the corporation on some particular function. The most notable example is, of course, the Treasurer; but others are the Establishment Officer, where this department is separate, and the Planning Officer, and to a lesser extent the Surveyor and the Architect. Other chief officers and departments form entities almost wholly separate from the rest of the corporation, the outstanding example being the Chief Education Officer but in the large towns the trading undertakings, usually Waterworks and Transport, may be in this category. They may provide their own committee clerk and their own accountant and in this way virtually resist all contact with the rest of the corporation. Because both of these problems can be perplexing for a Town Clerk, it is well to examine the two notable examples in some further detail.

The Treasurer has a great influence upon one of the most important policy questions in local government: the size of the rate. It is in most places completely the Treasurer's task to prepare the annual budget. This means that he first contacts the spending departments and gets their preliminary estimates. On the basis of these, he estimates the size of the rate if all this expenditure were to be approved. The Finance Committee then sifts through the various preliminary estimates and usually recommends which items it feels might be reduced. It is then the Treasurer's job, usually with the assistance of the Finance Committee chairman, to negotiate with the other Chairmen and chief officers in an attempt to have the estimates reduced. Finally, the Finance Committee approves the estimates and transmits them to the council, and the Treasurer writes the budget speech for the Finance Chairman. The Treasurer is therefore in a pivotal position in the rate-making process, he participates in all negotiations right from the beginning and has

the job of writing the general summary at the end. He is not, however, in a dictatorial position, for the spending departments must be heard, and, moreover, many of the items included in a budget are fixed charges which go on from year to year—interest, debt charges, salaries, maintenance of plant and equipment or charges for expenditures which have already been approved by the Council during the previous year. None the less, although the Treasurer is not in complete control, his influence can be very great. Moreover, during the year all supplementary estimates must be approved by the Finance Committee, and the Treasurer's advice on these matters is without doubt more influential than that of any other officer, including the Town Clerk. And where the Chairman of the Finance Committee is one of the leading members of the Council, as is very frequently the case, the influence of the Treasurer may often spread beyond the confines of the Finance Committee.

The Treasurer also has other duties, some of which bring him in contact with the other departments: the collection and disbursement of the Borough Fund, the direction of the accountancy and internal audit systems, the tendering of advice on the procurement of loans and the financing of capital projects. He must see, as well, that the financial systems of the corporation ensure the proper handling of all moneys.

Since the Treasurer plays a leading part in rate-making and in the consideration of supplementary estimates, and since he has close contact with almost every department and usually sends a representative to each committee to advise on financial matters, the question arises as to precisely what the relation of financial policy and general policy is. Can the two be separated, a Finance Committee setting the one, a General Purposes or Policy Committee setting the other? Some people seem to feel that this is possible. G. E. Martin, at the time Borough Treasurer of Poplar, strongly advised that the Finance Committee should be an independent committee chosen from the point of view of financial ability and capacity.⁷ The present City Treasurer of a large southern city expressed the view that the Finance Committee attempts, though not successfully, to deal with finance policy only. But the weight of practical evidence is to the contrary. Certainly financial policy, if by that term is meant the policy as to size of the rate and the policy as to the amount of indebtedness, is intimately related to the general consideration of policy, the overall development of the corporation's services. For example, in Bristol, the Finance Committee not long ago voted to reduce overall capital expenditure by almost 40 per cent. It is difficult to imagine any one decision taken by any one committee which would have as great an effect on general policy as this one. It must, therefore, be recognised that financial and general policy are closely intertwined. In fact financial policy, particularly in times of tight money and limited resources, is probably the major element in overall policy. But it is only one element. Once it is decided how much money shall be available there still remains how the money shall be distributed, which services and which project shall be given priority. This distribution comprises the central element of any general policy. It is this distribution

⁷Martin, G. E., "The Technique of Financial Administration of a Local Authority," 11 *Pub. Admin.* 389 (1933), pp. 397-98.

with which the Town Clerk if he is to be the general adviser to the Council should be more concerned than the Treasurer. And it is this distribution which in most authorities is left almost entirely to the Finance Committee and the Treasurer's Department with only the most perfunctory attention given by the Council.

If the Town Clerk is to co-ordinate not only the departmental administration but also general advice to the Council, it would seem that he must develop the very closest of working arrangements with the Treasurer, an arrangement built upon mutual confidence, sincere desire for co-operation, and a recognition by the Treasurer of the limitations of financially-oriented policy and of the Town Clerk's broader duties in relation to general policy and co-ordination. In the main, this kind of relationship exists between Town Clerks and Treasurers. The Treasurers are generally quite willing to admit that the Town Clerk is the chief administrative officer and is responsible for general policy co-ordination.⁸ But occasionally there is one, like the Treasurer of Reading, who appears to take a somewhat different view. In a paper⁹ he prepared for the Student Society of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants he declared,

policy is a matter for the council but nevertheless it is essential that the policy-maker should have independent views on it, both by the clerk and by the treasurer.

This is a sound doctrine so far as financial considerations can be divorced entirely from general policy considerations. But in so far as the two are difficult to disentangle the task of the Town Clerk to co-ordinate Council action will be the more complicated the more the Treasurer regards himself as completely independent of the Town Clerk.

The Chief Education Officer of a County Borough presents a somewhat different problem. Education is the largest single service provided by the County Boroughs and makes the greatest demands upon rate revenue. It is also the most independent of the Council. Most Education Committees provide their own committee clerks from the Education Department.¹⁰ As a result, the Town Clerk's normal method of keeping touch with the work of a committee is not available to him. This can make co-ordination in respect of education a difficult task for the Town Clerk. The Town Clerk does, however, provide legal advice to the Committee much as the Architect provides architectural advice; the Treasurer, financial advice; and the Engineer, engineering advice. Because the designing of new schools and the financing of building programmes are more important than the legal work that is apt to arise, the Education Department probably works in closer association with the Architect and the Treasurer than the Town Clerk. Some Town Clerks see the Chief Education Officer very infrequently and their

⁸See (Anonymous), "Clerk or Treasurer—Which Should be Chief Executive Officer?" 58 *Mun. Journ.* 1743 (1950).

⁹Jones, G. C., "The Independence of the Treasurer of Public Funds," lecture (first delivered in London, 7th October, 1955).

¹⁰Of the 83 County Boroughs 64 Education Committees are clerked by members of the Education Department. In Manchester, the Education Committee Clerk is nominally under the Town Clerk's control, but works in the Education Department, which is a few blocks from the Town Clerk's office in the Town Hall.

advice on matters concerning the Education Committee is seldom required. This is not conducive to their exercise of departmental co-ordination.

In spite of these problems posed by the special positions of the Treasurer and the Chief Education Officer and by the position of relative independence held by the other chief officers, most Town Clerks, should they so wish, are able to achieve some departmental co-ordination, even though in many instances it is only on a limited scale. It is the methods which Town Clerks employ in these efforts to which the last part of this article is devoted.

THE METHODS USED

To co-ordinate the work of the departments effectively, the Town Clerk must first of all know what work is being conducted by the various departments. He must keep himself informed of the progress in every section of the Corporation. To do this he has several means at his disposal. For instance, since he is the authority's major channel of contact with the outside world and vice versa, he has an excellent opportunity to keep abreast of recent developments by checking the incoming mail each day. Moreover, if there is a local newspaper, he will usually read it carefully in order to ascertain any drift in public feeling. What he usually looks for are complaints. If there are no complaints about a matter, it is probably running smoothly.

Many Town Clerks also see the draft committee agendas and draft committee minutes or reports and the reports of other chief officers to their respective committee. The Town Clerk cannot require that another chief officer sends his reports in draft to him and no doubt there are some chief officers who insist on the independence of their reports and their right of direct access to committees to the point of not consulting the Town Clerk about them. None the less where all officer reports are collected by the Committee Clerk for circulation with the agenda, the Town Clerk has advance information of them. Moreover even where this is not the practice, when a new programme or a major proposal is contemplated by a chief officer, it is not uncommon for him to send a draft copy to the Town Clerk, usually to find out whether some aspect of the problem affecting another part of the corporation has been ignored.

The knowledge thus acquired is only a necessary prerequisite to bringing about some co-ordination. It is not co-ordination itself. A Town Clerk must act upon this knowledge so that the chief officers do not work at cross-purposes with each other, so that the departments do not duplicate each other's work, and so that no department which should be consulted is ignored. The Town Clerk also has at his disposal various means to accomplish these tasks.

First of all, the Town Clerk is in charge of drafting committee minutes; although it is normal for these to be seen by the other officers concerned with the work of the committee, the responsibility for their final form rests with the Town Clerk. If an item arises in the business of a committee about which there might be a dispute as to which department should execute the committee's decision, the Town Clerk may settle the dispute before it begins by judiciously drafting the committee minute. Similarly because it is common for the Committee Clerk to circulate the minutes or memoranda on decisions of the council and committee, it is relatively easy for a note to be included

suggesting that on certain items consultations between particular officials or departments should take place.

The Town Clerk receives a great deal of correspondence from the general public and this helps to keep him aware of happenings within the Corporation, it also provides him with a good opportunity to bring the departments together on certain projects or to register his advice on certain matters which come within the scope of another department. As the Town Clerk goes over the post, he directs each piece to the proper department or committee and also directs that copies be made for other chief officers who are likely to be interested. In so doing he is given the chance to add his own comments or to suggest that the officer concerned check with him before taking any action. Likewise as the person in whose name all letters involving major policy matters are sent, the Town Clerk has the opportunity to see these letters before they are posted. In fact, however, the average Town Clerk sees only the most important ones. He relies on his staff and on the other chief officers to see that whatever opinions he wishes expressed are embodied in the replies.

Inter-departmental phone calls and letters probably form the bulk of the Town Clerk's contact with the other departments. Most noteworthy in this regard is the increase of formality of inter-departmental communications as the size of the authorities increase. In the small authority, if the Town Clerk wants to advise another officer or wants some information he simply picks up his phone and has a word or two with the officer and that is all there is to it. In the larger authority there is a tendency to put everything in writing. As an example a City Treasurer described a consultation by phone which he had had with the City Architect. It concerned the grading of certain posts within the Architect's Department. When they had reached a decision on the matter, the Treasurer said, "I'll send you a letter to that effect." The Treasurer explained that he always did this after phone conversations so that all decisions would be recorded somewhere; that otherwise one of the officers might in the future disavow making any such decision.

Inter-departmental letters or memoranda also tend to be quite formal in the larger authorities. In one large city, for instance, the full business form is used—"Dear Sir", "Yours faithfully," and the full address—just as if the letter was being sent to a local business firm or a Government Department. A similar practice was used in a smaller Borough until recently. It was advanced at a chief officers' meeting that much time might be saved by an inter-departmental memo form with routing directions simply printed on the form. This gained little favour among the chief officers, and in the end it was agreed to shorten the addresses to merely, "Town Clerk, —" and to drop the "Yours faithfully." Although this formality may be a very insignificant matter in terms of time and convenience, it does evidence the very common tendency, particularly in the larger authorities, for departments to isolate themselves and to resist any effort to lessen their independence.

Although the majority of contacts which the Town Clerk has with the other departments is by phone and letter, the most important contact is by personal consultation. The personal consultation generally speaking takes place at three levels: (1) meetings of the Town Clerk and one other chief officer; (2) meetings of the Town Clerk and a small group of chief officers; (3) a

general meeting of all chief officers. The use of the term "chief officers" in this context is not, strictly speaking, accurate. Although much of a Town Clerk's contact would be with the chief officers themselves, he also meets not infrequently with deputies and assistants in other departments when the officers are dealing with the particular matter under consideration. Likewise the Town Clerk may be represented by his Deputy or assistants in some consultations. In the normal way much of this depends on the size of the authority.

At the first level almost anything may be involved. The Town Clerk may go over the background of a planning case with the Planning Officer before a local public inquiry is held. Or he and the Treasurer may get together over the new awards by the National Joint Council or some problems that have arisen in connection with rating valuations. Or he may see the Engineer about a delay in a street reconstruction project. The last is a good example of how the Town Clerk acts on a complaint from the public. The Highway Committee two years previously had approved the reconstruction of a certain street in the Borough. The Borough Engineer had not moved swiftly on the project and, as a result, the residents began complaining to the Town Clerk. The Town Clerk then saw the Highways Committee Chairman and the Engineer and secured an agreement to push the project through quickly.

The second level is what might be called the project or scheme level. A new housing estate is planned or slum clearance project proposed or perhaps something even simpler, the assumption of an ambulance service by the authority. The problem in most of these cases is, first of all, who is going to take responsibility for what and, secondly, when are they going to do it. The best solution is to call all the interested parties together and distribute the assignments and work out a time schedule. Usually, though not always, the impetus for these meetings comes from the Town Clerk. Likewise, usually, though not always, the Town Clerk attends any meeting of this kind. According to one Treasurer, if there is an important matter to be discussed the Town Clerk is certain to be present; another Treasurer, however, intimated that unless the Town Clerk's Department were directly concerned, that is, the problem involved some legal matters, the Town Clerk would probably not take part. It is well-settled nevertheless that if the Town Clerk does attend, he presides. And he does just that; he does not order or direct the other chief officers to do this or that. The Town Clerk of a northern County Borough was quick to assert this point as he explained the procedure on slum clearance. The chief officers would come together to work out a schedule. The Town Clerk would ask: "Mr. Public Health Inspector, when will you have your survey completed?" and "Mr. Engineer, when can you have the roads and sewers in?" and "Mr. Architect, when can you have the new buildings up?" and to himself, "when can I have the land acquired?" The answers were given and a schedule was planned on the basis of them. The Town Clerk made no attempt to lay out a precise schedule or force a time limit on any officer.

Although in all authorities the Town Clerk and the chief officers meet at the first and second levels, this is not true at the third level. In Bristol,

Nottingham, Cheltenham and Bedford, for instance, the chief officers have a monthly business meeting; in Manchester and Reading, they have a luncheon together which is very largely social. Even among those places where there are regular business meetings, the nature of the meetings tends to vary somewhat. In Bedford, the major item discussed is establishment matters but in addition agreement on general policy, the settlement of conflicts between officer, the prevention of duplication and overlapping between departments, all receive attention. In Bristol, the major focus is upon planning and development, although again the meeting is also a time for airing differences and settling officer attitudes on general policy. In Nottingham, in addition to the discussions on general policy, problems of organisational efficiency, such as central purchasing, are tackled. In all these meetings the Town Clerk is the presiding officer and is in most cases the one to whom everyone looks for leadership.

Town Clerks generally feel that officers should not "wash their dirty linen" before the councillors, if at all avoidable, and certainly not before the public. Thus it is essential that the conflicting opinions of two or more officers be somehow resolved in private. The need is for an arbitrator. The need is usually supplied by the Town Clerk. Disputes between officers are not common, for, as one Town Clerk explained, the officers are not children, they all realise that a job has to be done, and they do their best to get on with it. Where disputes do occur they as often as not arise from the personal animosities of the two officers rather than any great disagreement on principles, since in every group of officers there always seems to be one awkward one. Even if the Town Clerk is unable to bring the officers to terms, he can see that both points of view are fully and fairly set before the committee so that the committee can resolve the dispute.

A more difficult issue arises when the Town Clerk disagrees with another chief officer on a matter which the Town Clerk thinks involves general policy. There is no officer who can arbitrate for the arbitrator so that, unless the Town Clerk can win his point with the officer, the power of decision must be turned over to the committee most directly concerned. Consequently, the odds are weighted heavily against the Town Clerk. One of the tendencies in local government, stemming from the committee system, is what is sometimes called the "committee mind" of councillors. This attitude when it appears in committee is one of determination to resist outside interference with the administration of the particular service, of willingness to rally in support of the committee's officer in any disagreement with another officer. Therefore, unless the Town Clerk is willing to bring his disagreement before the public in council meeting, or is able to refer the dispute to one of the co-ordinating committees, his chances of succeeding are not always bright. The knowledge that he will have to combat this "committee mind" can deter a Town Clerk from raising objections to another officer's policy, objections he knows he has no chance of following through.

It is in this connection that the implementation of the Coventry Report which recommended the enhancement of the Town Clerk as chief administrative officer and the establishment of a new committee designed to foster administrative co-ordination with the Town Clerk as its adviser is of great

interest. Although the Coventry City Council accepted the major recommendations of the H.M. Treasury (O. and M.) Division with reference to the Town Clerk as chief administrative officer which, so far as general administration was concerned, gave the Town Clerk the power to interfere with the work of the other departments to bring about co-ordination of council activities or to improve the level of administrative efficiency, the recommendations made it perfectly clear that the proposals were not intended to relieve Departments of their primary responsibility for their own domestic administrative efficiency, and, if for no other reason, the Town Clerk will be slow to intervene. Like the large majority of Town Clerks he never requires the chief officers to file with him written reports upon the progress of their individual matters. He does, however, call informal conferences of the other officers to consider specific problems. When this occurs, they meet in the Town Clerk's office and discuss the problem, each putting his own point of view. In the end the Town Clerk summarises the various positions and offers a solution, one that is nearly always a compromise. In this instance the position of the Town Clerk contrasts sharply with that of an American City Manager or a German Oberstadtdirektor because when the Town Clerk suggested a solution, or in fact, as he sometimes does, strongly insists upon a certain course of action, he has no guarantee that when the officers return to their own departments his recommendations will be put into effect, even though the officers have all agreed with the recommendations at the meeting. The City Manager and the Oberstadtdirektor, on the other hand, know that once the solution had been agreed upon, it will be put into effect.

The significance of the Coventry Report in terms of British local government lies not so much in the formal definition of the responsibilities of the Town Clerk for co-ordination and overall administrative efficiency, but in the setting up at the policy making level of a special co-ordinating committee to which final consideration of these questions should be referred. Thus, a factory owner, having complained to the Town Clerk privately about the back-up of the sewage system after a few very moderate storms—on one occasion it had cost the company several hundred pounds to clean up the debris—informed him that if something was not done to remedy the situation, the company would have to institute a suit the next time the back-up occurred. The Town Clerk thus felt that a complete review of the sewage system was probably needed, and he therefore sent one of his Administrative Assistants to talk with the Engineer about a survey. The Engineer complained that his staff was inadequate to undertake such a project. The Town Clerk responded by assigning his Methods Officer to determine what additional staff the Engineer would need to carry out the survey. The Town Clerk brought the recommendation of the Methods Officer before the Establishment and General Administration Committee, they approved, the additional staff were employed and the survey began. In this instance the Town Clerk's advice was acceptable to the Engineer, but there may be times when to bring a matter such as this before the Establishment and General Administration is to run the risk of airing a disagreement before the public in Council, since the Council would be forced to choose between the recommendations of the co-ordinating committee and the executing committee.

THE TOWN CLERK AS CO-ORDINATOR

Should an issue of this kind reach the Council, party politics would be injected into the picture, adding further complications. The decision of whether to support the co-ordination or the executing committee would be taken and decided at the majority party caucus. The party like the Council may be composed of "committee mind" people, who are determined not only to protect their own committee from outside interference, but also to protect any committee so threatened. Whereas this attitude is less easy to express in Council because it places the Councillor in the awkward position of opposing publicly increased efficiency in government, behind the caucus doors this problem does not arise since the public is excluded. In this way the collective support of the party group might work to defeat the co-ordinating committee. In Coventry, however, this pitfall has been up to this time avoided. There are perhaps two reasons for this: (1) the Chairman of the Establishment and General Administration Committee has always been a strong man, capable of putting effectively in party caucus the case for his committee; and (2) the Labour party group, the majority party, made such political capital of the Report when it was implemented that they are now careful to avoid the charge being made that they are destroying their own work.

CONCLUSION

By way of a brief summary it seems that generally the Town Clerk in his capacity as departmental co-ordinator has a somewhat limited scope of action. He is, to be sure, the principal or senior official of the municipality. This means, first of all, that at any meeting of officers which he attends, he presides; secondly, that when two (or more) officers cannot resolve any differences which have arisen between them, they look to the Town Clerk for arbitration; and, finally, that when a chief officer comes up with a new idea or programme for his department, he usually consults with the Town Clerk in order to determine how other departments would be affected.

In addition, the Town Clerk usually takes the lead in organising consultations on any large projects involving several departments and general meetings of chief officers, although to a certain extent his participation in these consultations arises from the fact that few large projects in local government do not in some way have legal implications. But it would be unfair to say that only when legal problems are involved does the Town Clerk appear. Whether the Town Clerk tends to dominate these consultations and meetings depends upon his strength of personality *vis-a-vis* the other officers. One may safely venture that any Town Clerk has a short lead over the other officers in this respect, in that he is the one to whom most officers look to for leadership. If he is well-disposed to lead, he will find that most officers will follow his lead. But at the same time he should be extremely tactful; he should never try to force overtly his wishes or ideas upon the other officers. Even though the Town Clerk has a short lead, if he fails to show any initiative, it is not uncommon for the administrative centre to shift to the Treasurer or, particularly in the small authorities, to the Engineer. This would be particularly true where either the Treasurer or another officer had served the Council longer than the Town Clerk. A more thorough knowledge of local history (recent history, that is) and local conditions may often offset the Town Clerk's short lead.

In his capacity as Clerk to the committees and as Establishment Officer, even in the limited sense, he is able to foster a certain amount of administrative harmony, particularly as it concerns various procedures for handling routine matters, and uniformity in the grading of posts and the implementation of conditions of service. But this is co-ordination on a very limited scale.

One of the problems in local government is that of single inefficient departments. The senior official of the department may be getting on in years and losing interest or he may just be incompetent. As a result the standard of service begins to falter. The difficulty for the Town Clerk is that problems such as these are not strictly matters of co-ordination since only one department is involved. However it often happens that the department is not upholding its commitments with other departments and thereby may be indirectly affecting the efficiency of these other departments. What can the Town Clerk do? Some Town Clerks wait until there is a complaint from some quarter and then get together with the department head to see if the trouble can be eliminated. But this is an essentially negative approach, for the Town Clerk only acts when things have come to such an impasse that someone lodges a complaint. Moreover this approach is at best spasmodic; it rarely goes to the source of the trouble and it only solves one particular problem at one particular moment. Therefore unless the Town Clerk has a Methods Officer or an organisation and methods team at his disposal, there is very little he can do about an inefficient department. And even where there is such an officer or team, the Town Clerk, because of the traditions of independent departments and committee, needs to proceed carefully. Moreover the trouble may not be of a kind that can be solved by the service of O. and M.

As far as developing a body of consistent officer advice on general policy the Town Clerk is largely powerless. Only the rare and very strong Town Clerk would venture to suggest to one officer that his department should cut back its services while another department should be expanded, that certain services should grow in the future while others should be curtailed, that the officers should support a consonant policy of development for the Borough and Corporation as a whole.

In general, however, Town Clerks operate successfully within these limitations. All the officers as a rule co-operate with each other, mainly, one would suppose, because they realise that only through co-operation will they get their own job completed and because they recognise the limitations which are placed on them by the system in which they work. Consequently, the administrative machinery moves along with minor troubles easily remedied, with major breakdowns almost non-existent, and without any real overall direction.

VITALITY IN ADMINISTRATION

By HERBERT MORRISON, BASIL SMALLPEICE, SIR
ALEXANDER FLECK, SIR WILFRED NEDEN, A. D.
BONHAM-CARTER, MAJOR-GENERAL G. N. RUSSELL

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Every organisation must ensure that its staff remains alert and adaptable and does not fall into habits of routine and apathy. The contributors to this symposium show how vitality can be achieved and maintained in the administration both of public authorities and of business concerns.

Herbert Morrison, on the basis of his long experience of both central and local government, shows how the official is kept up to the mark by the elected representative, who in turn is called to account by the voters. Basil Smallpeice, Managing Director of British Overseas Airways Corporation, describes how commercial competition acts as a stimulus to energy and efficiency, and how his own organisation keeps abreast of the latest developments in its sphere. Sir Alexander Fleck, Chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries, deals with the effect on administration of scientific and technical advance, and shows how his company meets this challenge.

Sir Wilfred Neden, Chief Industrial Commissioner of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, emphasises the fundamental importance of sound human relations at all levels of both private enterprise and the public service, and stresses the need for a full and frank exchange of information and ideas throughout an organisation. A. D. Bonham-Carter, a Director of Unilever Ltd., describes the ways in which his own organisation ensures that its higher management is kept at concert pitch. In the concluding chapter Major-General G. N. Russell, General Manager of British Road Services, shows how the benefits of large-scale operation can be secured without sacrificing the advantages of the small undertaking.

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Selection, Training and Promotion of Officers

By J. E. M. ROBERTS

This paper was presented to a Conference of officers drawn from the British Transport Commission's Headquarters and Divisions (British Railways, London Transport Executive, British Road Services, Provincial and Scottish 'buses, British Transport Waterways, British Transport Docks, British Transport Hotels). It was written to stimulate thought and discussion on the selection, training and promotion of those who are, or will be, responsible for the leadership and management of the 800,000 men and women employed by the Commission and its constituent Divisions. It is not intended to be a comprehensive review of the whole problem, and the views expressed are the author's, and do not necessarily represent the official policy of the Commission. The author is Director of Training and Education in the British Transport Commission.

INTRODUCTION

THE problem of the officers of the future is not the sole concern of a few senior managers or a specialist department: it is the direct interest of every present-day officer, and can be successfully tackled only if each one makes some constructive contribution. Though we do not always realise it, we can do more to influence the future course of the industry in which we work by our choice of men and our influence on their careers than by any other action. Forms and procedures have their importance, but in the end what counts is the way in which all of you use them.

Good officers do not simply occur. They are produced by conscious search and training. Yet they are never a class apart from the rest of the community, and in our industry a man may assume the responsibilities of an officer at almost any age and with almost any background. Furthermore, everybody's interests—that of the Commission, the Area Boards and management at all levels of all branches of the undertaking—are fundamentally the same in the matter: to provide from within the Commission's resources the officers necessary to carry on future management.

In the fundamentals, there is no vast difference between the requirements of the technical and non-technical departments, and I am not devoting a special section to the technical side. There are, of course, special technical problems: but in the main the problems to be solved are just the same as in the non-technical field. Everywhere we are competing with the rest of British industry for the best talent which the schools and Universities produce. In both the technical and non-technical field we need in our officers the same qualities of leadership and responsibility. First-class academic qualifications are always welcome, and are indeed a first essential in some posts. Nevertheless, so much of our technical work is bound up with the control and leadership of men that we should not think of our complement of technical officers, or most of it, as being composed of men primarily with these high academic qualifications. Such qualifications will not carry a man far in our service without the human qualities of a good officer.

The range of the subject is immense, and discussion on the art of selecting,

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training and promoting officers in a large organisation is much older than nationalisation. Almost all of us here know of the difficulties which existed in our former businesses, but we had come to terms with them, and with the passage of time their reality may have somewhat dimmed.

In this big field, I am going to concentrate on the following five topics :

- (i) Selection of potential officers
- (ii) Characteristics of initial training schemes
- (iii) Later training in the exercise of responsibility
- (iv) Training and careers. Advertising of vacancies
- (v) Future developments

SELECTION OF POTENTIAL OFFICERS

Our existing staff and the Universities are the two normal sources of recruitment of potential officers. The staff source is the larger, and will undoubtedly remain so.

We are looking, and must continue to look, for recruits wherever an educational stream spills over into industry.

In attracting to our industry people from whom officers may be chosen, a good reputation, both as an efficient business and as a good employer, and good presentation (in the sense of explaining what the jobs are about and in the way of handling candidates when they come), are both of first-rate importance. In the presentation we must remember that the size and apparent impersonality of nationalised transport is a bit frightening, and everything possible needs to be done to let it be known that in fact the managements are not impersonal, and that the young entrant is considered as an individual. In addition to this general approach, there are more personal ways by which enthusiastic officers can help to recruit the right type of people.

Schools. Since the promotional system is broadly based, we must ensure that service with the Commission's undertakings appeals to the best boys leaving the secondary, grammar and public schools. In this, there is not the least doubt that the growing visible signs of modernisation on the railways are helping with the quality of recruitment.

In some sections of the undertaking, however, there is need to encourage more interest in boys who stay on at school until the age of 17 or 18, even though they are relatively few in number. The Engineering side, with its Student Engineers and Engineering Apprenticeship Schemes and with its Sandwich Courses, makes useful provision in this field. On the non-technical side, however, the arrangements are not so comprehensive: and in this we share a common problem with a large number of firms employing "commercial" staffs. We must recognise that there are peculiar difficulties, particularly in the absence of a generally recognised objective standard of education, such as the Higher National Certificates give on the engineering side. Yet we can do a great deal to help ourselves. Salary scales are not by any means the worst of our problems, and more of these boys, who will be good officer material in time, can be attracted if our local officers are prepared to show by example that they are ready to offer careful supervision of the boys' early years.

Universities. The intake from the Universities (I mean all the twenty-two

Universities and University Colleges in England, Scotland and Wales) covers the ages from twenty-two to twenty-eight, and to have a proper channel of entry into the Commission's service is now more important than ever it was, since the trend in modern education is encouraging a steadily increasing proportion of the cleverest young men of the country to go to the University. If the Universities manage to solve their own selection problems (which they have not yet done) they will also attract the ablest all-rounders. Men coming from the University should be sufficiently mature to show how their characters are forming, and should enable us to decide whether or not they are likely to make good officers. As a matter of interest, about eighty University graduates (four-fifths of this number technical, and one-fifth non-technical) joined the Commission's service in 1957.

The personal approach is of more value here than anywhere else. For some time now, British Railways have had a team of senior officers, each of whom specialises in fostering the interests of railway recruitment at two or three of the Universities, and each of the other undertakings of the Commission which recruits University men into officer training schemes sees that in one way or another there is a close relationship maintained with the University Appointments Boards, Faculties, and authorities of the constituent colleges, where the men are best known. This is working well, and is ensuring that every individual applicant has his chance of discussing the characteristics and prospects of the work in an informal way with someone who has been through the training.

Selection. From this material we have to pick a number of individuals who are likely to make good technical and non-technical officers, by virtue of their character, their qualities of leadership and their expertise. In doing this we need to keep a proper sense of proportion of the numbers, which must, of course, be related to requirements. Obvious though this may seem, this means an assessment of requirements, which is not always an easy thing to do, but if the officer training schemes are overloaded or badly balanced in the sense that they have too many men training for one side of the business, the result is resentment and frustration, just as surely as inadequate recruitment leads to a decline in the standard of management.

I will not embark on a general discussion of selection procedures, either our own or the experiments which other people are making in an attempt to find more scientific and sure ways than the short interview provides: but the following factors are important in the system of selection for our training schemes:—

- (i) Any man who is prepared to assume the responsibilities of an officer and who reaches a clearly defined standard should be able to put his name forward for consideration.
- (ii) The selection procedure must as a first step define this clear standard. The age limits prescribed by the schemes automatically provide one means of selection or rejection. An engineering degree or the equivalent appropriate professional examination provides a necessary and recognisable minimum qualification in the technical field. On the non-technical side there are no such objective standards, and there are

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so many different circumstances to cover that a simple eliminating test is all that can be used.

- (iii) The final selection must essentially be on the character of the man and by interview.
- (iv) The selectors should be officers who are in full sympathy with the scheme and who are in a position to maintain an impartial and consistent standard of judgment year by year and candidate by candidate ; which means that there should be some continuity in the representation on the bodies for selection.
- (v) Ideally, the management unit responsible for the training should be responsible for the selection. Where central selection is unavoidable, as in most of the railway schemes, the regional managements must (as they do now) have strong representation on the central selection committee, in order to be associated with the choice.
- (vi) In any scheme taking men both from our own staff and from the Universities, the same selectors should as far as possible see both groups.
- (vii) The selectors should know how their choices are getting along in the training schemes, in order to help with their choice and as a check on their judgment.

CHARACTERISTICS OF INITIAL TRAINING SCHEMES

There are certain objectives which any industrial officer training schemes should have :—

- (i) They must teach men certain essential facts about the business in which they are working. To a man who is recruited direct from the University this means that he has to be taught from the start the basic facts of at least one large sector of the industry. Those who have been selected from the staff will probably have a rather specialised knowledge of one part of the undertaking, and with them the essential teaching work is directed towards widening their knowledge of the business, with special emphasis on the questions with which managers have to deal.
- (ii) They need to give potential officers the opportunity of mixing with and understanding the problems of men at all levels and in several branches of the industry ; and to show them what I would call " the way of life " of the undertaking.
- (iii) They need to show that there are problems of management and to encourage the right attitude towards responsibility. This is particularly important, because few men coming into the officer training schemes have had much direct personal responsibility. Nor, in this context, are University men any better placed, except in the comparatively rare cases where they have had really responsible jobs in the Forces during their period of National Service.
- (iv) They should be designed to bring out each man's character and special aptitudes, and to encourage him to think afresh about the problems which face his part of the undertaking, and to have a constructively critical frame of mind.

Our training schemes have a number of main characteristics in common. Each takes one of the main groups of the undertaking—it may be the Traffic

department or the Civil Engineering department of the railways, the Engineering department of the docks, the administrative side of London Transport—and each gives a man a thorough grounding in the technique and administration of that group. It does this by giving him a planned course which takes him quickly through the main sections of the group in which he is working, leaving him to work alongside those who are doing the job today. The administration for planning and watching the training is the responsibility of the General Manager, exercised usually through a committee of senior officers, who tailor the training to the requirements of the individual, bearing in mind his knowledge and past experience. In the technical field, it is commonly the practice that the technical officers themselves carry this responsibility, and in organising the training they take into account the fact that the graduate engineer comes with a very good knowledge of the technical background of his profession. Whatever the department, a great deal of the success of the training, and of the man, depends on the interest taken by his local officer for the time being, and in particular, in the traffic departments of the railways, by the district officer.

A final, and most important, feature is that the schemes were at their inception discussed with the representatives of the staff, who have a full understanding of their objectives.

This is all in a sound tradition, and nobody would underrate the value of the training as it has been developed on these lines. Any who have been associated, as I have for the past twenty years, with the Traffic Apprentice Scheme, must be impressed not only with the value of the practical knowledge which the men obtain in the course of their training, but with the quite remarkable way in which they develop in breadth of mind and in character as the training progresses. Nevertheless these changing times are calling for change in the emphasis of the training schemes, and if what I have to say here has perhaps more relevance to the railways than to other parts of the undertaking it is simply that I happen to know the railway side better.

First, a knowledge of how things are being done now and the reason why they are being done in that particular way, and the kind of people who are engaged on the work and their feelings, are all obvious essentials that a future officer must know. The process of being put on his mettle to acquire this knowledge is also an important factor in developing his self-reliance. But that is not to say that all education in the basic facts ends with this. It is equally important to explain something of the technological and economic changes (in operational and commercial matters just as much as in the engineering field) which are taking place, and how they are likely to affect the present scheme of things. Men on the job cannot be expected to do this, and change is coming so quickly now that officer training schemes may soon have to provide two or three short and highly intensive courses during the practical training. It would not be at all an easy thing to devise these courses, nor to find the senior officers with both the authority needed and the time to spare to take the lead; but I think it could be done, and I for one would readily see the programme of courses at the residential training centres which the Commission possesses, and which are already severely overtaxed, adapted to meet this point.

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Then, we are moving towards giving men experience of responsibility at the earliest possible moment in their training. In the past some training schemes attempted the unattainable in that they tried to show a man everything that he should see within two or three years. I suggest we should be wiser to abandon this unattainable objective and, after a very brief introduction, to concentrate on teaching a man by giving him a series of quite small special jobs to do. Teaching in this way undoubtedly makes a far deeper and more lasting impression on a man, and the discipline of working out even a small project in real life is of great value.

Another point to which we are increasingly turning our attention is the systematic introduction to the work of the Commission and the interrelation of the various Divisions. There are a few very short induction courses for graduate entrants to some of the training schemes, but they have a lot of other ground to cover as well. I am sure that we are right to insist that officer training should be the function of individual Divisions or Railway Regions, each of which is quite large enough for a man to comprehend, and which provide a proper focus for his interests and his loyalties. Nevertheless, there is a minimum of information which all future officers should have about what is going on outside their own particular field. They should be introduced to such general subjects as the scale of operations of the other Divisions and some of the most pressing practical problems which they face; the policy and financial problems of the Commission; and the effect of the obligations which it has as a public service. Obviously these are things which cannot be taught by practical experience in the short time available, and again we come back to the point that provision will have to be made for a series of short intensive courses for men in the officer training schemes. If all the Divisions were mixed at some of these courses it would be all to the good.

The criticism of my comments, particularly when read in conjunction with what I say later about giving potential officers responsible jobs as quickly as possible, is that their acceptance would mean trying to cram a lifetime's experience into two years or so. Be that as it may, these thoughts do help to show how vital it is to ensure that our officer training schemes are exacting, well reasoned and well knit, with no irrelevancies. Above all, they must be closely watched at all times.

LATER TRAINING IN THE EXERCISE OF RESPONSIBILITY

The initial training given by the special schemes is largely introductory and gives only a taste of management training, though this flavour will, one hopes, become stronger as time goes on. Real training in management responsibilities should come in the years immediately after the initial training, and as a part of promotion. "The best possible training for potential managers is the practical one of doing jobs for themselves at successive levels of difficulty and status." That is as true for our industry as it is for the electricity supply industry, for which it was written. And, in nine cases out of ten, the critical years in the making of a man coming through those schemes are the five or six following his appointment after training, or other recognition.

So a first step is to see that the future officer is given responsible work to do. Generalisations on the kind of work are obviously dangerous, because a lot will depend on the character of the man, his aptitudes, and the organisation and prospects of the particular branch of the business in which he is working. But there are five points of special importance in this context.

- (i) The first is the accent on personal responsibility. Over a large sector of the undertaking there are inestimable advantages in giving men complete responsibility for a small part of the work, with a group of staff to manage, rather than a subordinate place in a larger section of the undertaking. The small independent command—the goods station, small works or small district—develops a man's self-reliance, brings him into direct touch with the staff, and gives him the chance of showing whether he can use initiative in a constructive way. The discipline of this training, and the "feel" which it gives, are invaluable wherever a man goes in later life: and if he misses the opportunity in the early years the chance may never recur. It is so important, both to the development of the man and to the vitality of the organisation, that even changes in organisation are worth consideration in order to develop more of this kind of work.
- (ii) Men who are able to develop quickly should be given the chance to do so, so that their capacity should always be at full stretch. As more systematic knowledge of people's ability becomes available, we must expect to find more rapid promotion of men who are proving their ability. There will be some heart-searching, but the trend will be accepted when good results prove the case.
- (iii) There must, at a fairly early stage in development, be the opportunity of working in and learning at first hand the operation of the higher management and administrative offices, including those of the British Transport Commission, after having had some responsibility in the field. In the initial training period men can be told something about these operations, but a couple of years' experience in doing a responsible, if not a senior, job will give the man a much better understanding of policy and the problems of developing it, of organisation, of the meaning of higher administration, and of delegation. It helps to broaden his horizon and brings him in touch with the most senior range of officers. Obviously there should be no career for the young officer in these offices alone, and he must be moved out within a couple of years or so; but the experience is a highly desirable ingredient in the training of every man who is qualifying for a senior officer's position in the future.
- (iv) We must so design our affairs that the technically trained man is brought into the general stream of promotion for higher management. This means two things. First, in his own technical field he must be tested in management work as far as it is possible for him to do it, and, secondly, if he comes through that test with credit he must be given the opportunity of promotion to non-technical posts which may lead to general management or general administration at the highest level. We all know the shortage in the country generally of men with technical training, and

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there must be an obvious temptation to keep the best of them in technical jobs, but in so doing we may be depriving ourselves of first-rate administrative ability.

- (v) In a highly specialised world we must be on the look-out for specialist talent, and make provision for first-rate specialist training. There is something of a paradox in this, as I have stressed the value of a broadly based initial training for all, and of a continuing all-round experience for some. But to an increasing extent we are on the look-out for special aptitudes, and are prepared to take exceptional training measures to develop them along their own lines.

Direct responsibility in contact with men is the first essential in the management training which every officer needs. But there is a great deal which nowadays can be done to reinforce it, through more abstract training. Most of this training is given at the residential colleges which are now a feature of the industrial scene, because so much of it can only be given through guided discussion and mutual exchange of ideas. The pioneer is, of course, the Administrative Staff College at Henley, to which some of our young officers go. This college "provides a course of studies which investigates the principles and techniques of organisation and administration in civil life" and "seeks to foster understanding between those who carry responsibility in different spheres by giving them the opportunity to interchange ideas and experience at an age when their views have been formed but not fixed." Within our own organisation, a recent advance in this field has been in the development of appreciation courses attended by management at all levels in the particular sphere of Work Study. We also sponsor management studies, usually at a fairly elementary level, and conferences, sometimes run by the Divisions of the Commission.

In the engineering field, it is never easy for a busy officer to keep fully abreast of the developments in thought which are flowing from University research, and which are already available to the young men at the Universities. Post-graduate courses run in conjunction with the Universities can provide selected officers with the occasion to refresh their knowledge of technical theory, and to learn or to discuss new developments in technical thought. We already do something in this way: and we shall do more, cost what it may in money or inconvenience.

TRAINING AND CAREERS. ADVERTISING OF VACANCIES

Both training through promotion and the intelligent use of the more abstract training methods presuppose that there is some general design in a man's career: that somebody somewhere knows him and has weighed up where he might go and by what route; and how he compares in ability with his contemporaries and with older men who are in the running for promotion. I suppose that there are some who hanker after a nice tidy system which would enable them to say "There is a post falling vacant in five years' time and X is the man for it: in those five years he will do this work and that."

In fact, few have ever been able to plan with this degree of exactitude: certainly in our industry such precision is nowadays both impossible and, in my own opinion, undesirable as well, because it ignores a number of

characteristics of fundamental importance. There is the fact that we cannot in this matter work in watertight compartments, and there must be movement of officers between management units, and between them and the Commission's staff. We offer a lifetime career, and in the course of a life-time we may see the slow starter suddenly forging ahead and the early developer burning himself out. Transport work involves its officers in constant moves, and men's views of what are and are not practicable changes of work are bound to be influenced, to a far greater extent than in a static job, by changing domestic circumstances. We have to consider the case of the man who does not measure up to his job. Finally, there is an internal advertising procedure which makes known to existing staff throughout the Divisions all (except the most senior) officers' posts as they become vacant.

The relative merits of internal advertising and the alternative of some form of nomination are often debated: and I will digress and discuss some of the features of advertising. As you will see, I believe in it; but it has some drawbacks. It makes it much more difficult to ensure that officers fill the posts both for which they are immediately fitted and which give them the particular responsibilities needed to test them and qualify them for still higher posts. Officers who are properly placed may leave before they have had a thorough enough experience: it may mean too rapid moves. It sometimes gives the impression that the filling of important posts is something of a scramble, rather than the nicely balanced exercise of managerial knowledge and judgment which it is. It undoubtedly leads to delay, particularly where a sequence of appointments has to be made. It may mean that the prudent manager trains more men than he would otherwise do, as an insurance against unexpected losses through the advertising procedure, with possible detriment to their careers or a lowering of standards of the men trained.

Against all this, and to judge the process fairly, we must, however, look back a few years, and recall that the Commission's undertaking was coalescing out of a number of completely isolated units: officers of comparable level in the various parts often did not know each other, and certainly did not know, still less have any objective standard of judgment for, the junior men from whom the officers of the future would have to be chosen. The problem was a twofold one: to find a system which would help the various management get the officers they needed, and also to assure the staff of the various undertakings that their abilities and experience were receiving impartial consideration when they were not personally known. A system of advertising was the only possible answer.

Many things have changed since then, but these remain:—

- (i) There can be no doubt that advertising does give a real measure of assurance to those who come within the procedure, that they are not being overlooked: that is of the greatest possible importance at a time like the present, when reorganisation and the demands of modernisation are resulting in unusual moves and rapid strides for some.
- (ii) The unknown candidate, perhaps from outside a training scheme, still turns up and sweeps the board. Ideally, the knowledge of the senior

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officers about the junior officers, and the system for the dissemination of this knowledge among those likely to be interested, should make these surprises impossible, but perfection is unattainable in this, and so advertising is a help.

- (iii) Some of the problems alleged to be due to advertising are in fact due to the firm scheduling of salary ranges inevitable in a big organisation.

At the end of the advertising procedure, an absolute obligation rests upon the management to make the best appointment: and in making the best appointment skill is needed to balance the many factors. Obviously, a man's technical ability to do the job tomorrow ranks high, but management at any level is not discharging its obligations if it thinks of that alone. The future officer requirements of the undertaking, the value of the post as a training ground, the ability of one or other of the candidates to benefit from experience in the post, all come into the picture. One recognises how difficult this is, but the balance has got to be made.

Do these difficulties, inherent both in the nature of the undertaking and in the operation of the advertising procedure, mean that a coherent training in management is impossible? I do not believe that to be true: and there is no reason to allow a procedure which can be an extremely good servant to become a master. Difficult though it may be at times, the use of the authority and the powers which are available at every level of management make it possible to pick men who seem to have the latent ability to fill officers' posts, test them, and then plan the type of experience and responsibility they should have. Even more could be done, and done more effectively, if more personal knowledge were available of more men, and if it were more readily exchangeable.

It goes without saying that there must be a continuous assessment of the age composition of officers' posts, so that it is possible to keep a proper balance, at all levels, between the numbers of officers available for promotion and the appointments to be made. Most sections of the undertaking already do this for their own domestic purposes.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

My emphasis has so far been mostly on what can be accomplished with our existing resources if we are determined to use them. There are, nevertheless, certain procedures which can materially help the development of the right ideas and their application.

The personal and informal interest of the senior officer in the junior gave most of what was necessary when a man made his career in one undertaking, where the threads of executive control were drawn together in a general manager: even then there were lurking uncertainties about potential officers not discovered, and about good men stuck in unsuitable jobs. This is not, however, sufficient today, when we all belong to one or other of the largely autonomous groups in a complex community. As I have already said, there cannot and should not be any formal or detailed direction from the centre of the movement of most officers, but the alternative is that managers responsible for making appointments should have the means of knowing the quality and performance not only of their own men, but also of the

candidates from other Divisions. They need, too, to know the kind of work for which the candidate is thought to be best fitted, so that that also may be taken into account—at times the most difficult of disciplines. There is a need for building up what I can best describe as a corporate knowledge and assessment of officers and potential officers if the powers vested in managers and the Commission's headquarters are to be exercised so as to bring men forward in the right way and quickly enough.

One aid is a system of reports and personal appraisal. Many of our contemporaries are faced to a greater or less degree with problems of size, diversity and organisation which we have. They, too, have been struggling with the problem, and in no case are they content to accept the idea that because of decentralisation of authority there should be no consistency of standards and of policy in the matter of the selection, training and promotion of officers. I do not think that any would claim that they have found the perfect solution, and certainly nobody has found a system which would apply to our industry and give the perfect answer. Certain principles have, however, been emerging over the years :

- (i) A system is needed in order to make information and assessment readily interchangeable between management units—to create, as it were, a common currency which will be honoured wherever it circulates.
- (ii) A system requiring regular reports focuses attention on the individual and helps to ensure that his progress and achievements are watched.
- (iii) A system which requires that the reports shall be in a consistent form enables some comparison to be made between men's character, professional ability in relation to the job, and potential for promotion.
- (iv) There is always a need for checking reports and assessing them in convenient groups. Clearly, the idiosyncrasies of individual reporters could produce a patchy result, particularly in the early stages of the introduction of a system, and assessment by senior officers who know the reporters can do quite a lot to iron out the inconsistencies, which become less as time goes on and experience is gained.
- (v) The system needs to be known to, and recognised as efficient by, those who are subject to it. Adverse reports, at least, must be discussed with the men concerned.

Each business or service has to work out how best it can adapt the broad principles to its own circumstances. It has, too, to determine the range of people who shall be subject to reports, who shall make the reports, who shall assess them, at what levels, and what interchange of reports between management units there shall be. I am sure there is a case for doing something of this sort in our own organisation, starting with the officers, and when that is established perhaps extending it to the salaried staff in general. Whatever we do, we do not want a monolithic system with centralisation of reports and a lot of administrative work: what we do need is an arrangement which encourages everybody to think about the careers of those for whom they are responsible, and which enables there to be a free exchange of opinion, as well as of the formal records which now form the background to so many appointment interviews.

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That, then, is the first of the future developments for which I look. The second is the establishment of a Staff College for Higher Management. As you all know, we have three residential colleges, at Derby, Darlington and Woking. They are doing extraordinarily useful work, much of it concerned with management studies, but of a fairly elementary kind. In a similar field, we encourage people to go to quite a number of courses sponsored by outside education authorities and institutions. In all these, staff of the various undertakings of the Commission are mixing and discussing their problems.

We have, however, no provision for officers to meet and consider, in a far more thorough way than we can do in the three days at this Conference, the problems which are facing management in all branches of the Commission's undertaking. The Commission, I know, wants to remedy this, and it is the hope in the near future, and on quite a modest scale at first, to start a college where in a proper environment officers will be able to come and join in guided discussions on some of the very big problems which we have today.

We must be clear about what the range of such a college should be in our own organisation. The designation "Management Staff College" in the industrial field carries a wide range of meanings. In one case a college will exist to inculcate a set of standard practices; in another the aim is to explain the significance of a recent industrial merger and its designs to responsible managers affected by it; a third tries to encourage joint discussion of management problems by senior officers in the production, marketing, personnel, buying and accountancy branches of its undertaking; in yet another the aim is to help men to understand that there are management problems, what their nature is and how they can be approached, with very little said in abstract about management skills and techniques. A domestic Report of 1952 contemplated courses of training in the "wider field of transport and management." I have already quoted the objectives of the Administrative Staff College at Henley.

The difference in the levels of the people attending are wide, too. In one case it is insisted that nobody below quite a high salary range be admitted, so that all the participants have some years of management responsibility and comparatively raw officer trainees are excluded. In other cases, courses for clerical and supervisory staff are sandwiched between those for senior managers.

None of these is quite what we ourselves want. I suggest that the foremost objective of a British Transport college should be to give training in higher management, the need for which I have already stressed. That phrase alone, however, is very general and needs some elaboration.

First of all, the accent is on training and not on teaching. By that I conceive a curriculum based on active participation, both by the permanent staff of the college, who will obviously have to be extremely experienced and well qualified, and by the officers attending. There is no special difficulty in arranging this, and several techniques have been successfully devised: in

particular, training through guiding syndicate studies has become a commonplace.

Then the subject of high management itself had a variety of meanings. In our case the main aspects demanding study seem to be :

- (i) Organisation, including accountability for decisions and the implications of decentralisation.
- (ii) Staff and industrial relations, including the factors at work in the selection, training and promotion of officers.
- (iii) Economic problems.
- (iv) Commercial practice of leading industrial organisations, private and nationalised.

There will, too, be a place for some direct teaching. In particular it would seem desirable to describe the policy of the Commission and explain its structure in very considerable detail. Teaching on this subject will be on an altogether higher plane and it will be much more comprehensive than the preliminary introduction which I have suggested is needed in all the set training schemes : but the two have an obvious affinity.

If the foremost objective of the college is to be training for higher management in this sense, the officers who go there should have a good deal of experience in responsibility if they are to contribute to the proceedings of the college as well as absorb something of value from them. I do not think it will be appropriate for junior men just starting their careers as officers, and certainly not for men in the officer training schemes, to attend, and it would be much more suitable for men of thirty-five years of age and over who have reached the position of railway district officer, or a responsibility of a comparable standing in other Divisions, or in the larger administrative offices.

Courses will not be short, and I hope and believe that members of the Commission and senior officers will wish to be frequent visitors to the college, and to take part in some of its proceedings. They will thus not only be able to make a constructive contribution to the work of the college, but there will be time and opportunity for them to meet the officers attending the course in an informal and unhurried environment. The Principal of the college and his staff will come to know the officers attending well. The combined effect of watching an officer's reactions in the training course and in the community life is to subject him to an objective standard of judgment which does not exist at the moment and which cannot be obtained in any other way.

I hope, too, that it will be possible regularly to include among those who attend the staff college one or two of the younger but really outstanding men from industry and business. They would be able to help stimulate a lot of thought and discussion on the relations between transport and its users, and on the outside reaction to the transport undertaking. In reverse, they should return with a much clearer understanding of the way in which transport officers are going about their job, and of their quality.

And so, in the context of this paper, the staff college would serve three objects. It would be the centre for training in higher management. It

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would provide the occasion when picked officers could meet for discussion and the exchange of ideas, both between the Divisions and between their various departments, and also between the Commission and their headquarters staff and the managements of the Divisions. It would provide a place where it would become possible to test and shape the thoughts and standards which animate the Commission's policy, including this vital matter of officer selection and training.

Thirdly, the means will have to be devised to focus this knowledge and bring the threads together ; but that is outside the range of this paper.

CONCLUSION

As I said at the beginning, every officer today can share in the production of the officers of the future : nothing that is done from the centre can take the place of local initiative. There is room for active interest in the intake of the best people, in helping them through the difficult early stages of their business life, in getting to know them and judge their qualities, aptitudes and potential for promotion, and in experimenting in training and educational method. There is just as much room for this locally as there is in the case of the specialist officer like myself who spends his whole time at it. I know how easy it is to say this, and how hard it is to do something about it among the many obligations which press upon officers. I am sure, however, that with determination it is possible to make a mark on the future trend of development.

That is the first half of the problem : the second which emerges from our thoughts on the subject is equally important. Central, divisional and local initiatives will be wasted and quickly spent if they are not all working towards the same general objectives, and if the same ideals of the high standards needed do not animate all present-day officers. Some of the objectives and standards can be reasonably closely defined : others are almost incapable of definition, and can be comprehended only through the exchange of ideas in discussion, the joint assessment of reports on potential officers and the evidence of appointments made. I have suggested ways in which I think new procedures can help to formulate and make understood the objectives and standards. But there will have to go with the new procedures a realisation that each section cannot go its own way alone : that many appointments, certainly most senior ones, should be determined by the widest consideration of management succession, with all the self-imposed discipline that this entails.

Public Enterprise in Nigeria

I. FEDERAL PUBLIC UTILITIES¹

By A. H. HANSON

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IT is common knowledge that public enterprise has a particularly important role to play in an "under-developed" economy. Shortage of private capital, lack of entrepreneurial ability, the absence of a market for securities and equities, and inadequate profit-expectations limit opportunities for investment even in light industry. *A fortiori*, heavy industry—if it is to be developed at all—must be predominantly a state responsibility, and to the state is inevitably assigned the task of creating the essential "infrastructure" of transport, communications and power. In agriculture, too, a variety of public agencies is required—to supply credit and equipment, control marketing, provide irrigation, and organise cultivation. Irrespective of the ideology of the government and of the socio-economic pattern which it aims ultimately to establish, the early stages of economic development, in the 20th century, are invariably somewhat "socialistic" in character. So-called doctrinaire considerations, of course, play their part, and it may be a very large one; but the balance between public and private enterprise is never a matter of free choice. Stern necessity tips it heavily on the public side. This general rule applies as much to Nigeria as to any other under-developed country.

It is not the purpose of this article, however, to examine either the actual or the desirable extent of public enterprise in Nigeria. Much depends on the influence of "objective" factors as yet insufficiently investigated;² much, too, on the types of development plan that the Nigerian governments eventually adopt. Our purpose is the more modest one of examining some of the public enterprises with which Nigeria is at present equipped, as these, presumably, will provide the organisational models for enterprises yet to be established.

The structuring of public enterprise is a matter of even greater importance for an underdeveloped country than for a developed one, and of far greater difficulty. Inevitably, the tendency is to imitate structures which appear to have given satisfaction in countries at a higher level of development, but these have to be adapted to local requirements, and success or failure partly depends on the intelligence with which the adaptation is made. One thing is certain: that similar forms of organisation will not necessarily produce similar results. Many difficulties and some disasters experienced by under-developed countries from Mexico to the Philippines might have been avoided, or at least mitigated, if this had been more clearly realised. It is therefore useful to inquire as to the extent to which the British-type public corporation, now widely employed in Nigeria, is displaying its alleged virtues in this alien setting, and to examine some of the changes, both planned and unplanned,

that it has undergone in the process of transplantation. The interest of such a study, I believe, is enhanced by the fact that the sea-change has largely been effected not by the Nigerians themselves, but by British "expatriates" familiar not only with local conditions but with the working of these institutions in their own country.

Nigerian public enterprises of the directly productive kind—this excludes the Marketing Boards, with which we shall not be concerned—may be divided into two broad classes: public utilities and development corporations. The former are of greater immediate interest from the point of view here adopted, as they may be directly compared with certain of the nationalised industries in Britain. Our own experience is of much smaller relevance to the problems of the development corporations.

Of the utilities, the most important are the Nigerian Railway Corporation, the Nigerian Ports Authority, the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, the Nigerian Coal Corporation, and the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, all of them federal government corporations.

THE NIGERIAN CORPORATIONS AND THE BRITISH

Certain differences between these agencies and the British nationalised industries are immediately apparent. In the first place, they are on a much smaller scale. The railways, in the year 1956-7, operated 2,226 miles of track, with 215 main line engines, possessed fixed assets valued at £41,624,167, realised £14,296,299 in gross working receipts, and employed 33,500 people.³ The Ports Authority, when constituted, took over assets valued at no more than £3,150,000 and received a sum of £770,000 for working capital. It has a work-force of 8,000.⁴ Fixed assets of the Electricity Corporation, at March, 1956, were valued at £5,439,516; at the beginning of the 1955-6 financial year its total operating capacity was 42,000 kilowatts and its employment roll 6,000.⁵ The Coal Corporation, with fixed assets valued at £467,449 at March, 1956, produced 750,058 tons of coal during the 1955-6 financial year, and employed 8,000.⁶ Comparisons with Britain, therefore, are between the pygmy and the giant: a fact which, while obvious enough, needs constantly to be borne in mind.

Secondly, the antecedents of the Nigerian public corporations are quite different from the British. In Britain, the nationalised industries took over enterprises previously under private or municipal control. In Nigeria, for the most part, they are the successors of government departments. The transition, in fact, has not been from privately to publicly owned concerns, but from one form of nationalisation to another. This, as we shall see, has given rise to problems different from those that initially confronted the newly-established British Boards.

Thirdly, it must be remembered that the Nigerian enterprises are not entirely, or even mainly, run by Nigerians. Top-level officials are still almost exclusively "expatriate." In the Electricity Corporation, for instance, the General Manager, the Engineer-in-Chief, the Secretary, the six Heads of Department, the three Regional Engineers and Managers, and the Liaison Officer in the London Office are all Britons.⁷ Of the principal officers of the Coal Corporation, only the Legal Adviser is a Nigerian. "Nigerianisation,"

of course, is proceeding—whether too fast or too slowly remains a matter of controversy. The pace is obviously determined in part by the rapidity with which facilities for higher general and technical education can be extended, and is also affected by the prevalence among Nigerians of certain job-preferences familiar enough to anyone acquainted with underdeveloped areas. "Administration" is still preferred to technology.⁸ The Electricity Corporation reported, in 1957, that it had failed to recruit any Nigerian candidates for training as mechanical engineers.⁹ Until recently, the prestige of technology throughout West Africa was so low that the mines were "unable to recruit a single African graduate into the field of mining engineering."¹⁰ These prejudices should not be over-emphasised, because failure to recruit may mean no more, in a given instance, than failure of the educational system to produce people with the necessary initial qualifications. Nevertheless, it is clear that ideology as well as lack of suitable education is impeding "Nigerianisation" in the public enterprises—probably more so than in the government departments, where most positions are more obviously of the prestigious "white-collar" kind and demand general education rather than specialised technical training.

There is no need to inquire why, in spite of these differences of circumstance, the decision was taken to make the change from departmental management to the public corporation.¹¹ The inconveniences of attempting to organise a productive enterprise as a government department are as well known and as serious in Nigeria as in any other country. Among the managers of the public enterprises, no-one seems to regret the passing of the old order, and such criticisms as they make of the present dispensation emphasise the persistence of certain rigidities characteristic of the former regime. To the extent that the public corporation has brought with it greater managerial freedom and less centralisation, it meets with the unqualified approval of those in positions of authority.

PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION

As already noted, however, the problems of transition have been rather dissimilar from those with which we are familiar in this country. Here the task of the newly-fledged public corporation was to integrate a multiplicity of separately-managed enterprises in a unified structure, and to work out common conditions of service for a personnel previously subject to many different conditions. In Nigeria, where the public corporation took over, more or less unchanged, the responsibilities of a government department (or section of it), there was no problem of integration,¹² and the problem of personnel was, in a sense, the opposite of the British. The task, in fact, has been one of injecting some flexibility into personnel policies for officials and workers who had previously enjoyed, as government servants, certain common, established expectations which seemed to be incompatible with the freedom of hire, fire, promote and demote that a public enterprise ought to enjoy.

So far, the changes made in this respect have been rather tentative, for political reasons. Among both officials and workers high value is placed on the relative security enjoyed by the government servant and on the

recognised status that government employment confers. They feel very strongly that comparability of conditions as between the government service and the service of public corporations ought to be preserved, and are not unnaturally anxious that they should enjoy the same promotion prospects as they enjoyed when the enterprise was departmentally managed. Among administrators, politicians, and informed members of the public, moreover, there is a fear that the public corporation, in pursuing independent personnel policies, will enter into competition, both with one another and with the "regular" governmental agencies, for scarce personnel, particularly at the managerial and technical levels. Such competition, it is widely felt, is not the best method of securing a rational distribution of talent in short supply.¹³

The contradiction between the needs of the enterprise and the demands of its personnel is felt particularly acutely by those members of the public corporations who have been appointed to represent the "workers' interests."¹⁴ In a lecture given to a summer school at the University College of Ibadan in 1957, Mr. H. A. P. Nwana, a trade union leader then member of the Board of the Nigerian Railways Corporation, made a comparison between civil service and public corporation procedures in matters of discipline. In the civil service, he said, there was a right of appeal extending right to the top of the hierarchy, even to the Colonial Office itself. In the corporation, on the other hand, questions of misconduct or inefficiency were delegated to the General Manager and there was no right of appeal to higher authority. "I am glad," he said, "that there is no provision for appeal to the Board of the corporation"; but simultaneously he expressed the opinion that this virtual managerial dictatorship in disciplinary matters was greatly to the disadvantage of the workers, and suggested, without specifying, that "something should be done" about it. In another part of his lecture, he regretted the inability of the unions to make *direct* representations to the Board, in so far as negotiations about wages and conditions were delegated to the General Manager, but admitted that the problem of reconciling union rights and managerial freedom was "not easy to overcome."

As might be expected, the views of the employees themselves are far less ambivalent than those of Mr. Nwana, whose dual position compelled him to attempt the difficult feat of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds; and to win their co-operation the freedom in personnel matters supposed to be characteristic of the public corporation has in fact been severely limited. The Ordinances themselves carefully safeguard the expectations of established government servants opting for transfer. In this respect the Railway Ordinance is typical. The Corporation, it says, "shall not offer employment to any officer except upon terms and conditions certified under the hand of the Chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission to be . . . not less favourable than those enjoyed by the officer at the date of such offer." Although the Commission "shall not decline so to certify the terms and conditions comprised in any offer merely because they are not in all respects identical with or superior to" the previous terms and conditions, it must ensure that they "offer substantially equivalent or greater benefits."¹⁵ In practice, the Corporation at first offered slightly

better conditions, and was then compelled, as a result of nine months of agitation by the Trade Unions, to provide more substantial "inducements." The Ports followed suit. Earlier, the Coal and Electricity Corporations had given every seconded government servant an increment on Vesting Day.¹⁶ Existing pension rights, as might be expected, are fully safeguarded. The Railway Ordinance, again typical, instructs the Corporation to establish "a pension scheme which shall be such as to make it possible, in the opinion of the Federal Public Service Commission, for service with the Corporation to be declared public service under the provisions of the Pensions Ordinance, 1951."¹⁷ Although, within these limits, the Corporations are given the right to "make regulations determining generally the conditions of service" of their employees, they have shown a general tendency, up to now, to follow the civil service pattern. This is partly a result of pressure from the Unions, which base their demands on standards prevalent in government employment because (a) the Government has a predominant position as an employer, and (b) the Union leaders themselves frequently have a civil service background. When Corporations have resisted these pressures, the Government itself has sometimes weighed in on the employees' side, as in the case of the craftsmen at the time of the establishment of the Railway Corporation.

Hence the following major features of civil service employment have tended to reproduce themselves in the Corporations: (1) promotion by seniority, (2) salary according to rank and grade, (3) long vacation leave, with generous transport facilities, (4) protracted procedures for dealing with questions of discipline, (5) non-contributory pensions, and (6) free medical service. The extent to which these features have been incorporated in regulations varies from one enterprise to another and the situation is still fluid, but even the Railways, under a powerful and radically-minded General Manager, have not made many drastic changes.¹⁸

In the opinion of Mr. Tukunboh, expressed at a time when he was simultaneously an officer of the Ports Authority and a member of the Railway Board, many of the traditional "perquisites"—particularly those enjoyed by officers of the Corporations—ought to be reduced or abolished. Vacation leave, adjusted to meet the needs of expatriate officers, is in his view over generous and liable to be abused. The basic allowance for cars, the low interest rates granted for car purchase, and the provision of free quarters with the alternative of a rent allowance, are expensive concessions difficult to justify on grounds of either economy or equity, particularly in a country where the general standard of living is extremely low. Disciplinary arrangements, although more satisfactory than in the civil service, are, he considers, still unjustifiably "tied to the long, dragging, government procedures of first, second and third warnings, etc." Trade Unions still insist, to the best of their ability, on recruitment exclusively from within the service and on promotion according to seniority. By and large, then, the public corporation has not succeeded in winning freedom in that field where freedom is generally regarded as most important.

In personnel matters, although the Ordinances have attempted to follow the British model as closely as possible, adverse circumstances have thus triumphed over "good" resolutions. In certain other matters, however,

departure from standard British practice has been deliberate. Composition of the Boards provides the most striking contrast. In Britain, the Minister is given a fairly free hand to build a team; in Nigeria the Ordinances place severe restrictions on his choice.

THE MEN ON THE BOARDS

The regionalisation of Nigeria is partly responsible for this. At present, regional loyalties are stronger than national ones, and regional governments feel little confidence in federal public corporations on which they are not represented. Hence, most of the Ordinances provide for regional representation. The Railway Ordinance, for instance, prescribes that of three members "appearing to the Minister to have had experience in commerce and in the use of railway transport," one "shall have been recommended for appointment by the Governor-in-Council of the Northern Region, one by the Governor-in-Council of the Western Region and one by the Governor-in-Council of the Eastern Region."¹⁹ The Ports Ordinance provides for the appointment of six regional members, two from each of the regions, "after consultation with the Lieutenant-Governor in Council."²⁰ The Electricity Corporation Ordinance gives one member to each of the regions, and one to the Cameroons, and prescribes that a fifth shall be appointed "to represent the interests of Lagos consumers."²¹ Of the members of the Broadcasting Corporation, three are the Chairmen of the three regional (broadcasting) boards, and three appointed on recommendation by the Governors-in-Council of the Regions, each "in virtue of his knowledge of the culture characteristics and affairs of the people of the . . . Region." There is also one for the Cameroons, recommended for appointment on similar grounds by the Commissioner of the Cameroons, after consultation with his Executive Council.²² Only the Coal Corporation, which provides a service less likely to become the subject of regional jealousies, is exempt from provisions of this kind.²³

Regions, however, are not the only "interests" statutorily represented on the Boards. The Minister is required to appoint to the Railway Corporation one person "appearing . . . to be qualified to represent commercial interests," one qualified to represent the Nigerian Ports Authority, one to represent the Central Marketing Board, and one who appears to the Minister, "after considering any representations made by labour organisations concerned, to have had experience of and to have shown capacity in, the organisation of workers."²⁴ Consequently, of the twelve Members (other than the Chairman) seven are interest representatives of one kind or another. Of the Members of the Port Authority, six are elected by shipowners and merchants (following the pattern of the Port of London Authority) and among the remainder, who are appointed by the Minister, one is required to have had "experience of, and shown capacity in, the working of the Nigerian Railway," one must be similarly qualified "in export of produce from Nigeria on behalf of the Marketing Boards," and one must be a labour man.²⁵ Thus fifteen of the sixteen Members (other than the Chairman) are connected with organised interests. Four Members of the Broadcasting Corporation,

says the Ordinance, "shall be persons chosen for their individual qualities who are broadly representative of the general public of Nigeria as a whole, or of any particular class or section of the people of Nigeria."²⁶ Some difficulty must be experienced in interpreting this requirement, but if it is taken seriously it raises the number of interest representatives on the Corporation to eight out of ten. On the Electricity Corporation, the addition of a labour man to the five representing the three Regions, the Cameroons and the Lagos consumers respectively gives "interests" six places out of a total of "not more than sixteen nor less than eleven."²⁷ Only the Coal Corporation bears, in respect of composition, much resemblance to the Board of a British nationalised industry, being provided with but one member, out of a total of 69, with "interest" connections. This Member is to be appointed "from among persons appearing to the Governor-in-Council to be qualified to know generally the needs of consumers of coal in Nigeria." Although another must be "experienced" in industrial relations, it is not specified that he shall be appointed after consultation with labour organisations.²⁸

The Minister's hands are also tied, although not with so tight a knot, by provisions requiring him to appoint persons with certain special qualifications. The Railway Board, for instance, must have one Member qualified "academically and practically in industrial relations."²⁹ Of the Members of the Broadcasting Corporation, one must have had "experience of and shown capacity in, telecommunications" and one must be similarly qualified in public finance.³⁰ The Coal Board, in addition to having an industrial relations man, must include one with "experience of industrial or mining affairs."³¹

The effect of these provisions which, superficially, would appear to derive their inspiration from France rather than from Britain, is that the Boards (other than the Coal Board) tend to become collections of interest representatives, leavened by a few specialists. This means, inevitably, that they are exclusively of the "policy" type, in so far as a predominance of interest-representation at the top is incompatible with a functional division of responsibility. It means also that, for effective management, they have to delegate virtually all "day-to-day" powers to executive officials.

The reasons for this very considerable modification of the British pattern are not far to seek. Political factors, as we have observed, have played their part, particularly in opening the door to regional representation, and trade union pressure has been responsible for the inclusion of workers' representatives.³² Equally important has been the impossibility of manning the Boards at all except with part-timers brought in from outside the industries. Such people inevitably have interest-connections, and it is only fair and reasonable to insist that, as some kind of interest-representation is inescapable, it should be as balanced as possible.³³ The alternative would be to fill the Boards by promotion from within the industries. This would provide more competent and experienced people, facilitate team-building, and enable "functionalism" to be introduced, if that were considered desirable. But to adopt this course would be to run counter to current ideas about the purpose of a Board, which is to subject those within the industry to "policy" controls from outside. More seriously, it would hold up the process of "Nigerian-

isation," in so far as a Board thus constituted would consist, at present and probably for some time to come, entirely of "expatriates."³⁴ If there are to be Boards at all, Nigerians not unnaturally insist that they should contain at least a bare majority of Africans.

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE BOARDS

If administration could be divorced from its political and social setting, it would be possible to argue that the Boards were useless, if not worse. Administratively, a "one-man" corporation would be quite feasible, particularly for the small public enterprise at present characteristic of Nigeria, and it might be a great deal more efficient. The principle of one-man management is already established, and one does not need to spend long in a public corporation to observe a tendency for the General Manager to regard "his" Board as a nuisance to be put up with and perhaps circumvented. The cynic, therefore, might come to the conclusion that the existence of the Board is no more than a sop thrown to public and group opinion—or perhaps simply to the politicians. Paul Appleby comes perilously near to expressing this view of the Indian Boards,³⁵ and Indian Board Members, by and large, are considerably more experienced and sophisticated than Nigerian. Such a view, however, would be mistaken, for one must look beyond the mere administrative needs of the individual industries. Not only does the Board protect the expatriate manager from the full blast of a xenophobic and imperfectly informed public opinion; it gives Nigerians a valuable opportunity to acquaint themselves with the problems of running a public enterprise and to participate in the taking of informed decisions on matters of commercial and industrial importance. Now that full independence is just around the corner, such opportunities are vital. The "opposition mentality" is the bane of nationalist movements that have achieved their objects, and every possible chance to provide practical education in the exercise of public responsibility ought to be seized before Independence Day comes. If this means—as it does in the Nigerian context—having interested parties on the Boards and allowing them, if they see fit, to pester the General Manager with what he regards as hare-brained schemes and unreasonable demands, one can only say "So be it." In colonial countries on the point of independence, there are things more important than the achievement of the maximum administrative efficiency.

There is another, and perhaps more immediate, advantage in the present form of board organisation: that it facilitates the co-ordination of policies—always a difficult thing to achieve in conditions of under-development. This is the point of having representatives of one Board sit on another, which is provided for by Ordinance in the case of the Railway Corporation and Ports Authority. In practice, inter-board representation is sometimes resorted to even when there is no specific statutory requirement. For instance, the General Managers of the Railway Corporation and the Ports Authority are members of the Coal Board. Co-ordination between Boards and government departments is attempted by the appointment of civil servants as Members—a practice frowned upon by most Western students of the public corporation, but almost inevitable in under-developed countries, if

only because "those most attuned to public responsibility . . . will . . . generally be civil servants."³⁶ In part, therefore, the structure of the Nigerian Boards follows Appleby's prescription for the Indian Boards, which he considers should consist mainly of high officials of other enterprises and of ministries with "related, supervising and co-ordinating interests." This does not mean, however, that the Boards thereby automatically become, as he thinks they should, "organs of governmental co-ordination, the members definitely empowered to speak for their respective ministries and capable of judging which matters should, in spite of delegation, be referred to higher authority."³⁷ Both co-ordination and delegation present problems that are not so easily solved. But it does represent a step towards the attainment of this ideal.

In thus defending the type of Board used in Nigeria, I do not underestimate the difficulties to which it gives rise. Representation, particularly of workers, produces a crop of awkward problems. The trade unionist Member occupies a most invidious position. Is he to concentrate on expressing the point of view of his "constituents," or on selling the Board's policies to them? If he chooses the latter, he will be condemned as a "stooge" and lose his influence and perhaps his trade union position; if the former, he will be regarded by the other Board Members as "irresponsible." Being the only workers' representative, he is liable to find himself in a permanent minority, leading a one-man opposition. Even his specialised knowledge, in theory the justification for his membership, cannot properly be used, for he may be required to absent himself, as an interested party, when wages and conditions are being discussed.³⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that the trade unions themselves have been thinking again about labour representation. At the All-Nigerian Trades Union Congress of 1955, it was proposed that "direct" should be replaced by "indirect" representation, i.e., that the workers' interest should be represented by a trade unionist from *another* industry, who would not be directly involved in negotiations about wages and conditions. Debate on this proposal was heated, for it involved, not only the much discussed question of workers' control, but also the perennial problem of inter-union rivalries.³⁹ In the end "direct" representation was carried by one vote. Subsequently, "indirect" representation was adopted as official government policy. Some have suggested that even this modified form of workers' participation is unsatisfactory, and that the best solution is the British one of insisting that the trade unionist, appointed to a Board, resigns from his trade union office. But he could not be appointed as a full-time Member, unless the Board's constitution were radically changed, and it would surely be unreasonable to ask him to give up his professional work in order to live on a part-time Member's salary. It is difficult, therefore, to envisage any genuine alternative to "indirect" representation, unless "experience of, and capacity in, the organisation of workers" is to become a *disqualification* for Board membership, which no-one has seriously proposed.

Another difficulty is the presence of politicians on the Boards. The practice of appointing them is hard to justify, even in Nigerian conditions. If they bring with them any special qualifications or experience, it is more by accident

than by design. Yet in some cases they constitute a majority of the African members—four out of seven on the Electricity Board, for instance, are parliamentarians. The danger is, clearly, that Board membership will come to be regarded as a reward for faithful party service in the legislature, that the element of party politics will loom large in the Board's decisions, and that a rational relationship between Board, Minister and Parliament will become extremely difficult to establish. Yet, in the present state of Nigerian political life, it is difficult to persuade Ministers that there is anything wrong in providing these perquisites for their friends in the Party, and inevitably certain expectations are created which it is politically inopportune to deny. There is also a widespread illusion about the omniscience of politicians, particularly among the politicians themselves. Amending legislation, disqualifying Members of Parliament from Board appointments, would be a short way of solving the problem, but such legislation, for obvious reasons, would get a rough passage in the House. Perhaps a politically less painful solution would be to cut the frequently excessive salaries of these part-timers when making new appointments. Board membership might then be less attractive to politicians and the political danger of denying it to them somewhat reduced.

AFRICANS AND EUROPEANS

Perhaps the thorniest problem, which will be with the Nigerian public enterprises for a long time to come, is the relationship between the "natives" and the "expatriates." This, of course, is not confined to public enterprise, but nevertheless is liable to become particularly acute in a situation where an expatriate General Manager, expert in his job, is controlled, at least nominally, by a Board with a predominantly African—and distinctly amateur—membership. It is remarkable how well some of the Managers and their leading officials have adapted themselves to this novel and delicate relationship, but not surprising that, among them, many traces of the attitude of the "old colonial hand" still remain. Occasionally I encountered an all-too-familiar scepticism as to the ability of Africans ever to acquire the outlooks and master the techniques necessary for successful industrial administration. Rather more frequent was the posture of paternalistic indulgence towards the Boards. These attitudes are not openly expressed, but Nigerians are very quick to sense their presence and to resent them. Such resentment has frequently been expressed by Members of the Federal Legislature. Criticising proposals in the Ports Authority Bill to permit the Board to delegate extensive power to its Chairman (see below, p. 376), Mr. Ojike said: "The Chairman will be carrying on while the other thirteen members will be invited from time to time just to see the report and say 'Amen' over a cup of tea."⁴⁰ On another occasion, a Member described the Chairman of the Railway Board as the "railway dictator."⁴¹

Among the African members of the Boards, there is a combination of admiration for the manager's technical competence and suspicion of his motives. They know that he is essential to the enterprise and that he cannot, at present, be replaced, but they feel themselves at a disadvantage in their relations with him, because of their comparative ignorance, and are over-ready

to impute the existence of *arrière-pensées* behind even his most straightforward and sensible proposals. At least in one instance, the African Board Members have formed what the Communists would call a "fraction," and meet together, in advance of the Board meeting, to work out a common "line." This is not healthy, but there is not much that can be done about it, for nothing could persuade the Africans that the Europeans on the Boards are not guilty of the same practice, perhaps in a more informal way.⁴² Better and more frank inter-racial contacts could, no doubt, improve the situation, and it would be a great help if some of the expatriates in private business were less brash in their behaviour and conversation; for Africans naturally tend to believe that their expressed attitudes are the unexpressed ones of those Britons whose public responsibilities inhibit free expression of their "real" views. Although the acquisition of full independence will probably make some difference, the problem is clearly one for which there is no simple solution.⁴³

One of the consequences of the incomplete trust between Boards and Managers is that the Boards sometimes display a desire to immerse themselves unduly in matters of day-to-day administration. This has to be resisted, even at the cost of some discontent, because the present arrangements will work reasonably well only if a full-time Chairman or General Manager⁴⁴ is given real authority over the enterprise. "One-man management" is necessary at this stage, and the comparatively small size of the enterprise permits its effective exercise.

MANAGERIAL POWERS

Here again is a contrast between most of the British and most of the Nigerian nationalised industries. In Nigeria, legislation not only provides for the post of General Manager but envisages the delegation of certain powers to him and, in some cases, confers powers on him directly. The Ports Ordinance, for instance, empowers the Chairman-Manager to:

- (a) Exercise supervision and control over the acts and proceedings of all servants of the Authority in matters of executive administration, and in matters concerning the accounts and records of the Authority, and subject to any regulations for the time being in force made by the Authority, dispose of all questions relating to the service of the said servants and their pay, privileges and allowances;
- (b) Carry on the day-to-day business of the authority.

In addition, it is prescribed that "the Authority shall delegate to the Chairman such of their functions as are necessary to enable him to transact efficiently such business as is mentioned in paragraph (b) . . . and for this purpose may from time to time issue directions under the common seal."⁴⁵ There are similar provisions in the Electricity and Broadcasting Ordinances, and a "delegation" clause in the Coal Corporation Ordinance.¹ The Railway Ordinance goes even further. Section 13 empowers the Chairman, if he "considers that at any meeting of the Corporation a matter which, in his opinion, affects the public interest has been wrongly decided," to "cause the implementation of the decision to be suspended" pending reference to the Governor-General in Council. He may also suspend the implementation

of a decision if he "considers that, at any meeting of the Corporation not attended by all the persons who, for the time being, are members . . . of the Corporation, a question which, in his opinion, is of sufficient importance to justify action being taken as provided in this sub-section has been wrongly decided." In this case, he is compelled, within a month, to "convene and hold another meeting of the Corporation at which the question aforesaid shall again be considered and determined".⁴⁶

It is not easy to say how effective are these provisions. Certainly there is no evidence to suggest that the Coal Corporation, whose Manager is granted no specific powers except by way of delegation, is less strongly managed than the Railway Corporation; and certain informants have alleged that the Ports Authority has suffered from comparatively weak and indecisive management in spite of the considerable powers which the Ordinance confers on its Chairman. In the event of a deadlock between Board and Management, the question of managerial powers could presumably be brought before the Courts, but one cannot envy the task of a judge asked to say whether delegated functions were sufficient to enable the Chairman "to transact efficiently the day-to-day business of the Corporation," or to give an exact meaning to the phrase "supervision and control." Only in respect of the suspensory powers of the Railway Chairman, which are to be exercised at his discretion, would the Court find its duty clearly indicated. In practice, the authority wielded by the General Manager depends on (a) his personal qualities, and (b) the situation within the enterprise; and the main function of the Ordinance is to suggest, in general terms, what, in the view of those who framed it, *ought* to be the scope of his powers. This does not mean, however, that these provisions are otiose. By compelling the Board to make a scheme of delegation, they enable a determined manager to claim and win his charter of managerial freedom, and put the law on his side when he refuses to discuss with the Board those matters of day-to-day administration which the Board itself has previously assigned to his unfettered discretion. This is particularly important in personnel administration, which some of the Ordinances *specifically* reserve to the General Manager, acting within the scope of the Board's general regulations; for nothing is more difficult, in an under-developed country, than to persuade people unfamiliar with the requirements of modern organisation that regularity and impartiality in this field are essential, and that favouritism and nepotism are incompatible with high employee morale. It would seem, therefore, that legislative prescriptions regarding the powers of management are, in contemporary Nigerian conditions, fully justified.

THE MINISTER AND THE BOARD

Of the Indian Boards, Mr. Paul Appleby has said that "the parent Minister, his Secretary, and the Managing Director are the crucial trio."⁴⁷ This is also true of the Nigerian Boards. In respect of Ministerial powers, the British model is followed, but with some important modifications. All the Ordinances except the Broadcasting Corporation Ordinance confer powers of "general direction," although not always in the same terms. The Ports Ordinance says that "the Minister may, after consultation with the Authority,

give to the Authority directions of a general character as to the discharge by the Authority of their functions in relation to matters appearing to the Minister to affect the public interest, and the Authority shall give effect to any such directions,"⁴⁸ and the Coal Corporation Ordinance contains a similarly-worded provision.⁴⁹ The Railway Ordinance, however, employs the phrase "matters . . . of grave public importance,"⁵⁰ while the Electricity Ordinance empowers the Minister to issue such general directions as appear to him "to be requisite in the interests of Nigeria."⁵¹ These variations of wording can have little importance, and, in principle, the "general direction" provisions are the same as in England. In addition, however, the Minister has the power, under two of the Ordinances, to "give specific directions" to "remedy any defect" in the "general arrangements" of the enterprises. This provision, which applies to the Coal Corporation and the Ports Authority, is absent from the Railway and Broadcasting Ordinances, and one cannot see that it adds much of substance to the "general direction" powers. It is also absent from the Electricity Corporation Ordinance, but there the Minister is empowered to issue "particular directions" as to "(a) the expansion of existing . . . undertakings; (b) the establishment and working of new electricity undertakings; (c) the rendering of services and the supply of electricity to any government department; and (d) the creation and application of a general reserve notwithstanding that these directions may be of a specific character."⁵²

"Specific" ministerial powers are, of course, included in our own nationalisation statutes, but it cannot be said that Nigeria has consistently followed the British model here. Specific approvals are not required, for instance, for research programmes or for welfare arrangements, and—rather surprisingly—only the Railways and the Broadcasting Ordinances require that the provision of training facilities for Nigerians shall be such as satisfy the Minister.⁵³ Even the framing of programmes of reorganisation or development "involving substantial outlay on capital account" requires specific ministerial approval only by the Railway Ordinance,⁵⁴ although in Electricity this may be regarded as provided for by the powers, quoted above, to issue "particular directions."

Financial powers, on the other hand, are extensive, and sometimes go considerably beyond those normally granted in Britain. The Nigerian minister, for instance, has to approve all rates and scales of charges for electricity, "otherwise than by agreement,"⁵⁵ to confirm Ports Authority regulations about harbour dues and ships' dues,⁵⁶ and to fix the "upper limits" of rates and fares on the Railway.⁵⁷

As might be expected, his responsibilities include the fixing of interest rates on and repayment terms for the "advance account," representing the moneys initially advanced by the government to the public enterprise as working capital. He also approves the decision to issue stock and the terms on which it is offered, the borrowing of money by loan, overdraft or otherwise, and, except for the Railway Corporation, the management of the enterprise's reserve fund. These powers, however, are less important than the corresponding ones in Britain, because in respect of the total unattractiveness of enterprise securities to a minute investing public Nigeria is no different from most

other under-developed countries, and consequently the capital requirements of the enterprises have to be met by the government.

It would be tedious to mention the many other specific ministerial powers to be found in the Ordinances, as sufficient has been said to show that the Nigerian Minister possesses ample authority over the enterprise—more ample, in some respects, than that possessed by a British minister. There is really nothing except his good sense to prevent him from by-passing the Board, using the General Manager as an office boy, and virtually running the enterprise himself. Ministers in other under-developed countries have sometimes actually carried their belief in the omniscience of the politician to these absurd lengths. What restrains the Nigerian Minister from doing so is (a) that he is conscious of his ignorance of commercial and industrial matters, and (b) that expatriate General Managers demand a large measure of freedom as the price of their continued service. It should be added that, at least in one important case, the minister was fully conversant with the conventions governing minister-board relations in Britain and very anxious to imitate them. In an interview with the writer, the shrewd and intelligent Malam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, then Minister of Transport and now Federal Prime Minister, took pride in the fact that he did not issue either general or specific directions to the enterprises under his supervision, but conducted his relations with them on an informal, or "old boy," basis.⁶⁸ One should not, however, place too great emphasis on the example that he has set, for conventions of that kind are extremely difficult to establish in an "under-developed" setting, where the pressures on the minister to use his powers for party, sectional or personal ends are so intense. There are instances from the Regions—and particularly from the Eastern Region—of public corporations being run as little more than political and nepotistic rackets, and the same could easily happen to the federal corporations when federal ministers, having acquired full independence, feel more confident in the exercise of their authority, and when the expatriate managers have been replaced by Africans.

That ministers must possess these ample powers is hardly open to challenge. The kind of "autonomy" once possessed by the London Passenger Transport Board is no longer favoured even in this country. In a country such as Nigeria, where careful planning of the use of pitifully scarce national resources is vital, it would be absurd. But abuse of such powers is terribly easy, and the temptations to abuse them are considerable. That they do not appear to have been abused as yet, at least at the federal level, is no guarantee of the future; for both the public corporation and the ministerial system are very new, expatriate personnel still occupy the key official positions, and something still remains of imperial tutelage. To discuss the use and abuse of ministerial powers on the basis of so short an experience, and in a situation likely to change so rapidly, would therefore not be a very useful exercise.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL

It is also too early to draw conclusions about the relations between the enterprises and the legislature. Nevertheless, the Nigerian "Hansard" provides some interesting material on this subject. British conventions have

been consciously imitated, and Members therefore enjoy much the same opportunities for criticism and suffer much the same limitations and frustrations as their British counterparts. As in Britain, the Debates on the Address, on Appropriations, on Reports and Accounts, on the Adjournment, and on amending legislation are used as occasions for discussion. It would seem, however, that in Nigeria the rules of relevance are applied rather less strictly. Whatever the context in which electricity, for instance, has been discussed, Members have inevitably fired broadsides at the E.C.N. for its failure to supply their constituencies. One also notes, without surprise, that they are, in general, less well informed about the nature of ministerial and parliamentary responsibilities towards the public corporation, and considerably less skilled in finding opportunities to compel ministerial attention. The supplementary Question, for instance, is little used, and Question Time may be searched in vain for the employment of the "Will the Minister issue a Direction?" gambit.

Ministers themselves are not entirely consistent in their interpretation of the conventions. It is difficult to see, for instance, why certain Questions should elicit full information while others are dismissed on the grounds that the Minister's responsibility is not engaged. Between 15th and 29th March, 1956, the Minister of Transport answered questions about the ratio of expatriate to Nigerian officers serving in the Railway Corporation, about the number of expatriates in the Ports Authority, and about the discomfort experienced by passengers in local trains between Enugu and Port Harcourt, but refused to be drawn on the number of qualified and unqualified engineers in the various railway departments.⁵⁹ There has also been some uncertainty about ministerial attitudes to Motions critical of public enterprise administration. When the Government accepted a Motion on the Improvement of Railway Tracks and Coaches, a Member quite relevantly inquired what "criterion" it was employing, but received no answer.⁶⁰ However, in the light of British experience in the 1940s, it is not surprising that the policy-administration dichotomy should cause some confusion, and it is to the credit of Ministers that they generally provide information on the Corporation's behalf, even while implicitly or explicitly disclaiming responsibility.

The frustration normally experienced by Members of legislatures in their attempts to establish effective supervision of Corporations is accentuated, in Nigeria, by the fact that the managers whose responsibility to Parliament, through the Minister, is so vaguely defined are mostly foreigners. Suspicion exists that the Corporation is a screen behind which the "imperialists," in spite of their loss of political power, continue to occupy some of the key positions in the country's economy.⁶¹ This suspicion, together with the fact that the transition from department to corporation did not automatically enhance efficiency or transform losses into profits, caused some disillusioned Members to question the value of the corporation device and to suggest that departmental management was preferable.⁶² Others demanded that consumers' councils should be established, on the British pattern,⁶³ or that the Public Accounts Committee should be given functions, *vis-à-vis* the corporations, similar to those now discharged by the British Select Committee on Nationalised Industries (Reports and Accounts).⁶⁴

It is the Electricity Corporation that has been most subject to parliamentary criticism, occupying more pages in the Nigerian "Hansard" than all the rest put together. Members have persistently attacked it for inefficiency, unprofitability, lack of concern with "Nigerianisation," and slowness in expanding supplies. Perhaps these somewhat unorganised and frequently irresponsible onslaughts were partly responsible for its recent reorganisation and for the granting, by the Government, of a moratorium on the servicing of its capital.⁶⁵ At any rate, since these events the attacks have been noticeably fewer and Questions about supplies have almost disappeared from the record. Rather curiously, the Coal Corporation has rarely attracted parliamentary attention, in spite of its financial losses, the serious inadequacy of its reporting, and the fact that it could be criticised, much more easily than the E.C.N., as an expatriate's "empire." The reason may conceivably be that its products, being mainly absorbed by another public enterprise, the Nigerian Railways, do not interest the ordinary consumer, whose point of view the parliamentarians are constantly trying to express.

By and large, it cannot be said that the enterprises have suffered from excessive interference by over-zealous legislators. This immunity, however, is probably due less to restraint on their part than to their comparative ignorance of commercial matters and their preoccupation with the more exciting matters of independence and constitution-making.

CONCLUSION

Can one say that in Nigeria, the public corporation has decisively proved its superiority over the government department? Not, I think, as yet. Admittedly both the ports and the railways have greatly improved their performances under the new dispensation, but *post hoc* is not *propter hoc*. Everything depends on whether Nigerians are capable of giving operational reality to the theoretical virtues that the public corporation possesses. Many other under-developed peoples have tried to do so and failed, because the conventions and understandings upon which the success of the public corporation depends could not, like the legal forms, be imported. If the characteristic features of the public corporation are to be defaced and distorted by the imposition of "meticulous" governmental controls and if its distinction from "regular" governmental agencies is made the excuse for all kinds of irregularities, then it achieves nothing; and the government department, with all its inherent defects as a means of running a business, will probably produce better results. So far, Nigerian federal public corporations have performed as well as could be expected because they have been run by commercially and technically competent men who have been given a comparatively free hand. These men know their worth, and know that the Nigerians know it, and consequently have been able to take a strong line, when necessary, both with Boards and with Ministers. But this situation will not last for ever, and when it ends not even the most carefully and intelligently drafted legislation will provide the prescription for success.

¹The author's best thanks are due to Professor Barback, of the University College, Ibadan, who offered valuable criticisms of the first draft of this article, and to Mr. G. Randell, Federal Adviser on Training, Lagos, who helped to provide material.

²A good beginning has been made by the International Bank Mission's Report, *The Economic Development of Nigeria* (Lagos, Federal Government Printer, 1954). Of more specialised studies, *The Niger Agricultural Project*, by Mr. K. D. S. Baldwin (Blackwell, 1957) is outstanding.

³*Nigerian Railway Corporation: Report and Accounts for the Year ended 31st March 1957*, pp. 59, 45, 43, 27.

⁴*Heads of Agreement between the Government of the Federation of Nigeria and the Nigerian Ports Authority* (Office of the Financial Secretary of the Federation, Lagos, 25th January, 1957).

⁵*Fifth Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, 1955-6*, pp. 21, 43-44.

⁶*Sixth Annual Report for the Year 1955-1956*, p. 6 and Appendix F. At the time of writing the Broadcasting Corporation, to which broadcasting services previously undertaken by the Government of the Federation were transferred on 1st April, 1957, has not issued its first Report.

⁷Electricity Corporation of Nigeria: *Annual Report, 1956-7*, p. 5. According to an E.C.N. Press Release, quoted by the Minister of Lands, Mines and Power, 34 of a total of 191 people holding senior appointments in 1957 were Nigerians. In 1952 the corresponding figures were 7 and 101. "Nigerianisation," therefore, went up from 7 per cent. in 1952 to 18 per cent. in 1957. (*Federal House of Representatives Debates*, Session 1957-8, p. 726.)

⁸A fact recognised, and deplored, by responsible Nigerians. "There is one thing I would like to bring to the attention of the House," said the Minister of Mines and Power in 1954, "and that is that Nigeria, like many other countries centuries ago, has yet to develop an aptitude for technical work. It therefore behoves all Hon. Members here to impress on our men and women that technical work is of equal importance as (sic) medicine, law, or any other profession." (*House of Representatives Debates*, Third Session, 1954, p. 476.)

⁹*Sixth Annual Report, 1956-7*, p. 9. The Report says that "this is likely to become an even more serious problem in the years ahead."

¹⁰United Nations: *Processes and Problems of Industrialisation in Under-developed Countries*, p. 42.

¹¹The placing of the "commercial" functions of government under public corporations has been government policy since the late 1940s. In 1950, the Chief Secretary defined the three main achievements of the post-war decade as (1) constitutional advance, (2) the establishment of Marketing Schemes and Production Development Committees, and (3) reforms of the Government Machine. He regarded the establishment of public corporations as the outstanding example of the third category, saying that it was "a most important development which can be compared with the other two reforms I have mentioned." (*Legislative Council Debates*, Fourth Session, 1950, p. 49.) African Ministers have shown themselves no less enthusiastic.

¹²Except possibly for the Port Authority, which took over functions previously scattered among a number of different government agencies.

¹³In this respect, of course, Nigeria is by no means unique. In countries as dissimilar as Greece, Turkey, India, the Philippines and Australia, the question of comparability has caused acute controversy. (See Hanson: *Public Enterprise, a Study of its Organisation and Management in Various Countries*, Brussels, 1955, pp. 236-7, 339-40, 477-81.) In England and Western Europe, too, the problem is not without importance. But it is particularly acute in countries where (a) a change-over from departmental to corporation management is taking place, and (b) membership of the "civil service" is identified with a high measure of security and prestige.

¹⁴See below, p. 374.

¹⁵*Nigerian Railway Corporation Ordinance*, No. 20 of 1955, Section 49, (5) & (6).

¹⁶"Inducement" in the Railways and the Ports was actually higher than in Electricity and Coal. In the former it was roughly 10 per cent., considerably more than an increment except for a low-paid worker on about £100 a year.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Section 48 (3).

¹⁸At least as far as its "officers" are concerned. (See *Standard Conditions of Service, 1957*, Railway Printer, Ebute Metta.) It won a partial victory in the case of the craftsmen.

¹⁹*Nigerian Railway Corporation Ordinance*, Section 5 (3).

²⁰*The Ports Ordinance*, No. 27 of 1954, Section 8, (a), (e) & (f).

²¹*Electricity Corporation of Nigeria Ordinance*, No. 15 of 1950, as amended by No. 15 of 1955, Section 3 (replacing Section 6 of the principal Ordinance).

²²*Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation Ordinance*, No. 39 of 1956, Section 11.

²³Nevertheless, there is *de facto* regional representation on the Coal Corporation. In refusing a demand from Mr. G. O. D. Eneh that the Coal Corporation should include a "representative" of the Udi Division, where the majority of the Corporation's workers live, the Minister said that the Eastern Region was already represented on the Board. (*Federal House of Representatives Debates*, Second Session, 1956.)

²⁴*Loc. cit.*, Section 5, (ii), (iv), (v), (vi).

²⁵*Loc. cit.*, Section 8, (a), (b), (c).

²⁶*Loc. cit.*, Section 5, (viii).

²⁷No. 32 of 1956, amending Section 6 of the principal Ordinance, No. 16 of 1950.

²⁸*Nigerian Coal Corporation Ordinance*, No. 29 of 1950, Section 3 (3).

²⁹*Loc. cit.*, Section 5 (b) (i).

³⁰*Loc. cit.*, Sections 5, (v); (6).

³¹*Loc. cit.*, Section 3, (3) (b).

³²In Britain, of course, there are Members with trade union experience, but they do not sit in a representative capacity.

³³It may be noted, however, that at least on one occasion it has been officially denied that Board members with "interest" connections are primarily concerned with the expression of the views of their "constituents." Replying to a suggestion that certain areas (e.g., the Delta and Port Harcourt) should be represented on the Ports Authority, in order to safeguard the interests of the staff employed there, the Minister of Transport said: "I must explain that the member representing the Unions is not there to represent the Unions alone; he is there to assist the Authority in carrying out its duties efficiently. I would very strongly oppose that a Board should be composed of members who all represent different interests, because such a Board would find it impossible to make any progress in its work." (*Federal House of Representatives Debates*, Second Session, 1956, p. 1672.)

³⁴During the Second Reading of the Ports Authority Bill, Mr. E. C. W. Howard, in reply to Mr. Eyo's suggestion that a nucleus of full-time members should be appointed to the Board, as in England, said: "I think I am right in saying that in those few cases . . . where a Ports Authority anywhere has full-time members, those members are all experts in their particular jobs. In other words they are really departmental heads on the Board. But surely that is not what we want." (*House of Representatives Debates*, Third Session, 1954, p. 175.)

³⁵See Paul H. Appleby: *Re-Examination of India's Administrative System with special reference to Administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises* (Cabinet Secretariat, Organisation and Methods Division, New Delhi, 1956), p. 54.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

³⁸Mr. Nwana, the trade unionist on the Railway Board, said: "I am supposed to be a liaison man, but when workers' questions come on the agenda, I have to be asked to be excused. Consequently the Board is deprived of my special knowledge of wages questions." This situation was due to what he described as a "wide interpretation" of the "interest" clause, which prescribes that "a member of the Corporation who is directly or indirectly interested in a contract made or proposed to be made by the Corporation—(a) shall disclose the nature of his interest at a meeting of the Corporation; and (b) shall not take part in any deliberation or decision of the Corporation with respect to that contract." (*Nigerian Railway Corporation Ordinance*, Schedule, Section 9.)

³⁹Some of the enthusiasm for "indirect" representation came, apparently, from unions rival to those from whose officials the "direct" representatives had been chosen.

⁴⁰*House of Representatives Debates*, 3rd Session, 1954, p. 182.

⁴¹*Federal House of Representatives Debates*, 1st Session, 1955, p. 864.

⁴²See, for instance, the debate on the 1958-9 Appropriation Bill (Head 69—Ministry of Transport) where a Member complained that at the "Tarkwa Bay Bungalow," said to be an exclusive club for expatriates, the European staff of the Ports Authority planned "how best to deal with the African staff on the question of promotions." (*Federal House of Representatives Debates*, Session 1958-9, col. 1207.)

⁴³An "expatriate" who does a first-class job, however, wins real and freely expressed gratitude. See, for instance, the tributes to Colonel Sir Ralf Emerson, the Railway Chairman, when the Minister of Transport announced the expiration of his appointment. (*Federal House of Representatives Debates*, Session 1958-9, cols. 1600-1601.) Asking for the retention of his services, Chief Solaru said: "I am quite sure that this is one of those rare occasions when, although we Nigerians cry for Nigerianisation, we know a good thing when we see it."

⁴⁴In the original legislation, apart from the recent Broadcasting Ordinance, the two posts were combined. Now, however, it is the policy of the Government to separate them. The Electricity Corporation, as reconstituted by Ordinance No. 32 of 1956,

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nas a part-time (African) Chairman and a full-time (ex-patriate) Chief Executive Officer, who "shall be responsible for the execution of the policy of the Corporation and the transaction of its day-to-day business." The C.E.O. is not a member of the Corporation, but has the right to be present at its meetings and "to be furnished with copies of all notices, agenda and minutes." In 1958 the Government took advantage of the impending retirement of Sir Ralf Emerson to introduce an amendment of similar effect to the Railway Corporation Ordinance. (See *Federal House of Representatives Debates*, Session 1958 cols. 1598-1599.)

⁴³*Loc. cit.*, Section 13 (2).

⁴⁴No. 39 of 1956, Section 10.

⁴⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴⁶*Loc. cit.*, Section 14 (2).

⁴⁷*Loc. cit.*, Section 6 (1).

⁴⁸This phrase was insisted on, but by no means convincingly justified, by the Minister of Transport during the Committee Stage of the Railway Corporation Bill. There can be little doubt that, like the Chairman's suspensory power, it was introduced to enhance the authority of Sir Ralf Emerson. This is clearly indicated by the remarks of the Member who moved that the more normal phrase, "affect the public interest," should be substituted. (See *Federal House of Representatives Debates*, 1st Session, 1955, p. 896.)

⁴⁹*Loc. cit.*, Section 12.

⁵⁰*Electricity Corporation Ordinance*, No. 15 of 1950, Section 25.

⁵¹Sections 30 and 18 respectively.

⁵²*Loc. cit.*, Section 15 (2).

⁵³*Loc. cit.*, Section 27 (1).

⁵⁴*Loc. cit.*, Section 83.

⁵⁵*Loc. cit.*, Section 18 (a).

⁵⁶A perusal of debates in the Legislative Assembly suggests that all Ministers who have so far taken responsibility for Federal public enterprises have regarded British ministers with comparable responsibilities as setting the pattern which ought to be followed.

⁵⁷*Federal House of Representatives Debates*, Second Session, cols. 1929, 1289, 1839-40.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, col. 502.

⁵⁹See, for instance, *House of Representatives Debates*, Third Session, 1954, pp. 473-475, 602; *Federal House of Representatives Debates*, Second Session, 1956, col. 2091; Session 1957-1958, col. 700; Session 1958-1959, col. 1207.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, First Session, 1955, pp. 655, 892.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, Second Session, 1956, pp. 1341-1346.

⁶²*House of Representatives Debates*, Third Session, 1954, pp. 209-215.

⁶³See *The Capital Structure of the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria*, Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1957, Lagos, 1957.

Defence Organisation—1958 Style

By F. M. G. WILLSON

The new White Paper on the Central Organisation for Defence is explained and commented upon.

IF there is any truth at all in the old adage that where there is smoke there must be fire, then there must have been some fairly bitter in-fighting going on in Whitehall during the first half of 1958 to have provided the widespread gossip, freely reported in the press and voiced in the House of Commons, about ministerial and military differences over the form of the Central Organisation for Defence. No doubt in time there will be some lively autobiographical comment available from which the respective influence of personalities and/or "pure" military and administrative factors can be assessed. Certainly the "politics" of the preliminaries are likely to make more interesting and entertaining reading than a contemporary, limited and, as far as can be, a detached description of the outcome. But for the sake of the record it is perhaps as well to put the very brief White Paper¹ of July, 1958, into some slightly deeper perspective than is offered officially.

The White Paper begins respectfully with a statement about the composition of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, but any discussion of modern defence organisation really hinges on two crucial points—the position of the Minister of Defence *vis-à-vis* the Service Ministers and the Minister of Supply on the one hand, and *vis-à-vis* the professional military chiefs on the other hand—and these deserve most attention.

THE BACKGROUND

The recent moves can be seen as part of a process which began in the Second World War when the Service Ministers—the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War and the Secretary of State for Air, together with the Minister of Supply—were quietly and inexorably pushed out of the limelight by the demands of combined Services' strategy, the effects of increasingly technical warfare, and above all by the assumption of supreme operational control by the Prime Minister, who took the additional post of Minister of Defence. Though the two latter offices have been divided since 1946, save for a brief period in 1951-52, and though the operational pressures of peace are far less than those of total war, the Service Ministers have recovered very little of their lost ground, nor does there seem any serious likelihood that they will ever achieve their pre-1940 status again. Even though, since Mr. A. V. Alexander (now Viscount Alexander of Hillsborough) gave up the Ministry of Defence in February, 1950, there have been no fewer than eight holders of this office, its authority has tended to grow. When Mr. Macmillan became Prime Minister in January, 1957 (the first Prime Minister, perhaps significantly, to have been a Minister of Defence in a Cabinet other than his own), he immediately made Mr. Sandys, his nominee for the Defence portfolio, responsible for "re-shaping and reorganising the Armed Forces in accordance with current strategic needs and in the light of the economic capacity of the country."² This task involved such

an apparent increase in the authority of the Minister as almost to make it possible for the Service Ministers to become little more than his creatures :

" Subject as necessary to consultation with the Cabinet and Defence Committee, and with the Treasury on matters of finance, the Minister [of Defence] will have authority to give decisions on all matters of policy affecting the size, shape, organisation and disposition of the Armed Forces, their equipment and supply (including defence research and development) and their pay and conditions of service. He will similarly have powers of decision on any matters of Service administration or appointment which, in his opinion, are of special importance."³

So much, for the moment, for the Service Ministers : let us look at their military advisers, the First Sea Lord, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Chief of the Air Staff. The individual status of the three Chiefs of Staff did not suffer, at least until very recently, as a result of the decline of the Service Ministers, because there was no appointment at the military or official level corresponding to the Minister of Defence at the political level. The three Chiefs remained, in their corporate capacity, the authority giving professional advice to the Government on all military matters. During the Second World War they had been joined by the head of the military side of the War Cabinet Secretariat, General (now Lord) Ismay, who, as the Prime Minister's chief Staff Officer, no doubt exercised a considerable "co-ordinating" influence, and after the Ministry of Defence was set up the Chief Staff Officer of the Ministry—an appointment which has since lapsed—was for a time a member of the Committee. The chairmanship rotated among the three Service Chiefs according to seniority, as it had done since the inception of the Committee, until October, 1955, when an independent Chairman—Sir William Dickson, previously Chief of the Air Staff—was appointed. The new post was in large measure due to the pressure of international work on the three Service Chiefs, and it was expected that the independent Chairman would take a great deal of the work on his own shoulders. A little over a year later, when Mr. Macmillan formed his Administration, Sir William Dickson became, in addition to being Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defence. These new appointments in 1955 and 1957 did not alter the corporate responsibility of the Chiefs, nor did it affect the rights of a Service Chief to tender personal advice to the Government if he disagreed with his colleagues.

Thus after the beginning of 1957 we had, on paper at least, a Minister of Defence with very wide powers over the whole field of defence policy and organisation, whose main professional advice presumably came from a Chief of Staff who was also independent Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The three Service Ministers and the Minister of Supply appear to have been reduced, in practice, to the position of "managers" of everyday military administration, though they retained their responsibility to Parliament for the running of their respective departments. (It is perhaps as well that no zealous constitutional purist has had to work out the exact implications of this latest version of super-ministerdom!) The Chiefs of Staff retained their individual and corporate authority : in form at least they were not

subject to their Chairman in any way comparable to the apparent relationship between the Minister of Defence and his ministerial colleagues. Over all loomed the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, still the same in form as it had been since the Labour Government's White Paper of 1946.⁴

In, or shortly before, July, 1958, the Government came to the conclusion that "the arrangements adopted at the beginning of 1957 have been justified by practical experience" and decided that "subject to certain minor alterations, these arrangements should now be formally confirmed."⁵ This ended months of rumour, mostly to the general effect that an attempt to make the Minister of Defence and his chief professional adviser more powerful, *vis-à-vis* the Service Ministers and the Services, than had been the case since January, 1957, had been foiled. Whether or not any such attempt or related proposals had been made or canvassed cannot be discussed here. But certainly there is not very much in the "confirming" arrangements to cause more than mild interest in the curious formal developments of the British constitution.

THE NEW ORDER

It is now laid down that the Minister of Defence, subject to the approval of the Defence Committee and the Cabinet, has authority to decide "all matters of defence policy affecting the size, shape, organisation and disposition of the Armed Forces and their weapons and war-like equipment and supply (including defence research and development)" and that he is "ministerially responsible to the Prime Minister for the execution of military operations approved by the Cabinet or the Defence Committee." He must approve—and in some cases seek the approval of the Prime Minister for—"the main important Service appointments"; and he has "the duty to take . . . all practicable steps to secure the most efficient and economical performance of functions common to two or more of the Services," including in appropriate cases the transfer of responsibility to himself.⁶

The posts of Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee and Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defence, already combined, have been replaced by a single office of Chief of the Defence Staff. Sir William Dickson is the first incumbent: thus, since he moved from being Chief of the Air Staff in October, 1955, he has held the first professional military post through three changes of function and nomenclature. He remains Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee with duties of general liaison (to be discussed later) and of representing Her Majesty's Government at conferences abroad. In future, all operational orders are to be issued by him, the Joint Planning Staff is to be directly responsible to him, and he is entitled to call on the services of the Naval, General and Air Staffs, "who are together regarded as forming a Joint Defence Staff."

If the new position is compared with that prevailing since the beginning of 1957 it will be seen that the Minister of Defence has lost the authority to decide policy questions about the pay and conditions of service of members of the Armed Forces, but that he has become formally responsible for the execution of approved operations, while the Chief of the Defence Staff has gained control of the issue of operational orders and the direct allegiance

of a staff of military planners. The gains are more significant than the loss, but the new statement is thick with declarations and provisos safeguarding the rights of the Service Ministers and their Chiefs of Staff.

In the 1946 White Paper it was laid down that the Service Ministers would "continue to be responsible to Parliament for the administration of their Services in accordance with the general policy approved by the Cabinet and within the resources allotted to them." The 1958 White Paper puts it this way:

"Within the limits of the defence policy determined by the Minister of Defence . . . and in conformity with it, the Service Ministers, working through the Board of Admiralty and the Army and Air Councils, are responsible for the efficiency and administration of the three Services. The Minister of Supply, similarly, is responsible for the efficient execution of approved programmes of defence research development and production."⁸

On policy questions these four Ministers will normally make proposals to the Minister of Defence, but this "does not . . . prejudice their constitutional right to make submissions to the Cabinet and its Committees." It is the Service Ministers who submit recommendations for military appointments to the Minister of Defence, and if the latter wants to make "common service" arrangements he must first consult those of his four colleagues directly concerned. Similarly the Chief of the Defence Staff is to offer the Minister of Defence the "agreed collective advice" of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, but if the members disagree he will report the views of the other members to the Minister and tender his own advice "in the light of those views." Moreover the access of individual Chiefs of Staff to the Minister of Defence and the Prime Minister is still specifically safeguarded.

What is new is the further "institutionalisation" of the necessarily ever-closer relations between the Minister of Defence, the other four Defence Ministers and their senior advisers. There is now a Defence Board, chaired by the Minister of Defence and including the Service Ministers and Minister of Supply, the Chief of the Defence Staff and the three Chiefs of Staff, and the Permanent Secretary and Chief Scientist of the Ministry of Defence. The formal precedents are obvious—the Board of Admiralty and the Army and Air Councils, each with its mixture of responsible Minister, junior Ministers, Service Chiefs and senior officials; but in fact the Board merely takes over the work done by a committee of very similar membership, known as the Service Ministers' Committee, which has been in existence for many years.

Finally, at Cabinet level, the Defence Committee's membership is being made more flexible. The Prime Minister will in future decide which of its members should be invited to meetings—none has a prescriptive right of regular attendance. The list of members is not very different from that published in 1946: the Lord President is left out, the Home Secretary, the Colonial Secretary and the "Commonwealth Secretary" (a new official appellation?) are added. The full panel is:

Prime Minister
Home Secretary

Foreign Secretary
 Chancellor of the Exchequer
 Commonwealth Secretary
 Colonial Secretary
 Minister of Defence
 Minister of Labour and National Service
 First Lord of the Admiralty
 Secretary of State for War
 Secretary of State for Air
 Minister of Supply

This new arrangement also has a precedent—the Committee of Imperial Defence in its early days before the First World War, although at that stage of development there was no panel of members laid down. The existence of a panel does not mean, of course, that attendance is restricted to those named in it; other Ministers may be invited to attend when “matters affecting the special interests of their Departments are to be discussed”. All members of the panel receive papers and minutes.

COMMENT

At the level of political, military and administrative decision where the Central Organisation for Defence has its being there can never be an “organisation chart” which tells the whole truth. The political climate and the wills and idiosyncracies of strong men impinge on formal arrangements, often distorting them into unique patterns and routes of authority, and only those directly involved are in a position to say, at any one time, in which direction the scales of power and influence are tilted. But the formal arrangements have their own importance: they can be seen as the expression of that amount of past development and experience which has congealed and hardened into the agreed foundation on which circumstances and people build their ephemeral superstructures of authority and compromise.

It is in this sense that the new order—and especially the Defence Board—is significant, for it shows clearly that there is still no fundamental shift in the concept of defence as a tripartite affair. Three separately organised Services remain: the other parts of the structure are in the last resort, ancillary. At the same time, in the constitutional context, the new order would seem to utilise that old tripartite foundation to its very limits. If there is to be another step taken in the same direction as the steps of the last half-century—the C.I.D., the Chiefs of Staff Committee, the Ministry of Defence and so on—then surely it must involve beginning again with a new base of authority—with some form of integrated defence force. Apart from that perennial possibility, the abolition of the Ministry of Supply, the most, perhaps, that could be done within the present formula would be to take away from the Service Ministers the constitutional status which they enjoy in theory and make them what they would appear to be in practice—something rather less than full departmental Ministers and yet rather more than Ministers of State. But such a move is probably so controversial as to be out of the question so long as the Services are separate entities.

If and when any further change may be expected is far too dangerous

ground to tread. But, with a glance backwards over the years since Mr. Balfour created the Committee of Imperial Defence, it might be suggested that technological progress and peacetime rethinking are themselves unlikely to lead to any radical reorganisation. Whatever the merits or demerits of one Service as against three, of "single-minded" as opposed to "co-ordinated" defence, it is probable that F. M. Cornford's *Principle of Unripe Time* will be successfully invoked in favour of the *status quo* until the existing framework is put to a serious test and found wanting, and until there appears another Lloyd George or Churchill to bludgeon acceptance of a new scheme. If this is a valid proposition, then we should hope for many more White Papers, revealing even less change and describing even more subtle and complicated constitutional relationships and safeguards than the present one!

¹Central Organisation for Defence, Cmnd. 476.

²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

³563 H.C. Deb. 395-6, 24.i.1957.

⁴Central Organisation for Defence, Cmd. 6923.

⁵Cmnd. 476, p. 3.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.

⁷Cmd. 6923, p. 6.

⁸Cmnd. 76, p. 5. Subsequent extracts are from the same source.

AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

By BERNARD SCHWARTZ, LL.M.(Harvard), Ph.D., LL.D.(Cambridge). Here is an enlarged and completely rewritten version of *American Administrative Law*—a short study of the subject published in 1950 for the British reader. It has been published in response to a wish by many people for an account of the developments of American administrative law—a system based on the same common-law traditions as that of Britain and one that will provide many useful analogies. In addition, with its clear style and focus on fundamentals, the book will be invaluable to students who need an introductory comparative treatise on the subject. From booksellers, 50s. net.

PITMAN Parker St., Kingsway, London, W.C.2

QUARTERLY NOTES

Survey of United Kingdom Government Departments' experience in Automatic Data Processing

Note by H.M. Treasury, O. & M. Division

1. Government departments in the United Kingdom have a strong and growing interest in automatic data processing (A.D.P.), which stems from their continuing endeavour to improve the efficiency of office and administrative practices. Where, as is the case with all the larger departments, the department has its own Organisation and Methods unit, the planning of A.D.P. systems is carried out by departmental O. and M. staffs. In cases where the department has no O. and M. unit of its own, the work is carried out by a central unit in Treasury, the services of which are at the disposal of all departments on an advisory basis. The Treasury O. and M. unit is supported by a small technical team of engineers and scientists. It also provides a central information and training service to departments in the field of automatic data processing.

2. There are in the United Kingdom at present (May, 1958) some forty systems of automatic data processing either being studied as potential candidates for A.D.P. in departments or in operation. Almost the whole range of Government departmental executive activity is represented by these studies, which range from the conventional studies of pay roll and statistics to very large projected studies of stores control and stores accounting and also to studies of the substantive work of departments such as the Ministry of Works and Inland Revenue. In so far as it is possible with such a great diversity of applications, the following paragraphs summarise experiences to date.

3. Study of projected A.D.P. installations is conducted in two parts. The first is a feasibility study, in which the worth-whileness of proceeding to an exhaustive analysis of the possible application of computers is tested. It is sometimes found that during these feasibility studies the work of the department may be reorganised, or that other simpler processes may be installed and similar economies achieved without the necessity of investing in an A.D.P. system, which necessarily involves substantial capital expenditure. If the result of the feasibility study is positive, then the O. and M. staff concerned proceed to the second part of the operation, the specification of requirements. Invitations to tender are then sent out to the firms that are best able to provide equipment to the requirements of the particular system. In some cases, this may mean a list of six or eight firms who are invited to tender. The final stage consists of the analysis of the tenders and their adjudication. Experience shows that it is often necessary to allow as much as two or three years for the stages of the operation outlined above.

4. When the decision concerning the manufacturer has been taken, staff are selected and trained in the programming techniques of the particular

machine and detailed programming of the system is completed while the system is being constructed. Arrangements are made during this period for the necessary reorganisation of the surrounding office administration as well as for the building, power supply, and other alterations that the computer will require. It is rare for a period of less than three years to elapse between the inception of the feasibility studies of an A.D.P. installation and the setting to work of the system. Adequate time has to be devoted to the preparation of the input documents in the form suitable for machine handling, and arrangements have also to be made for the running of both manual and machine systems in parallel so that confidence is established before the work is transferred without clerical backing to the machine system.

5. The general activity of A.D.P. system development in departments is supervised by a central Steering Committee. This is chaired by a senior Treasury official and on it are found a number of Permanent Secretaries. A.D.P. work in departments is supervised in most cases by departmental Steering Committees. There are no examples of external management consultants being called in to advise upon A.D.P. systems.

6. In all cases so far examined, the criterion for an A.D.P. system has been that of the economic justification on the basis of work immediately foreseen for it even though that might not fully load the system. Systems are costed on the assumption that they will be purchased, not rented, and that capital expenditure will be amortised over a period of ten years. Similarly, the initial once-for-all costs associated with setting up the system (transitional costs, costs of training staff, programming, and so on) are amortised over this ten-year period, and against this initial capital expenditure is offset the annual savings that may be expected. Within very broad limits indeed, it is found that staff savings are being secured to the extent of one post saved for every £1,000 of capital expended. In the case of the application of A.D.P. to statistical operations, however, savings may be better expressed in other, viz., indirect terms. Indirect savings may also play an important part in stock control systems, where a saving on a once-for-all basis may be secured as a result of the ability to control stocks more effectively.

7. Although in most cases so far studied the A.D.P. systems are economically justified on the basis of only maybe forty or fifty hours a week use, it is assumed that spare time will be absorbed gradually by additional work. Discussions have been held with the appropriate Unions about the problems of shift operation, and it is believed that there are unlikely to be major difficulties in a reasonable degree of shift operation of these systems.

8. In the case of the systems so far studied, the input to the A.D.P. system has been in the form of punched cards. Systems about to be installed will, however, use magnetic film or magnetic tape.

9. Considerable thought has been given in the United Kingdom to the staffing requirements of A.D.P. systems, and the following conclusions have been formed:

- (i) It is better not to create a specialist class to deal with the particular problems of programming. The work, although specialised, does not call for the intensive training comparable with the training of, for example, a statistician, an engineer or a chemist. It calls rather for special aptitudes

which might be expected to be found in any existing class of staff, and certainly in our Executive Class (or in the cases of Armed Service Establishments, the equivalent ranks). The creation of a small specialist class would present problems concerning career prospects which do not arise if staff are kept in their existing classes and, therefore, able to look to promotion if necessary outside A.D.P. sections. Moreover, staff engaged permanently and exclusively on programming would tend to become stale, and it is wise to arrange for channels to be kept open for their transfer to other duties.

- (ii) During the initial stages of any installation, care must be taken to ensure that amongst the staff selected there are sufficient with direct experience of, or at very least a familiarity with, the type of work being converted to A.D.P. and the inherent office organisation.
- (iii) The characteristics required from staff on A.D.P. work are nevertheless somewhat unusual, and it is desirable such staff should be sought from as wide an area within Government Service as possible. In order to help staff selection, it is appropriate to make use of techniques of personnel selection such as psychologists are capable of devising, and this we are doing. It is not, however, in our experience, sufficient to rely fully upon those tests, for none has yet been produced which provides anything like a 100 per cent. guide to the potentialities of candidates. For these reasons, we believe it necessary to supplement such tests with personal reports, interviews, and preliminary training. Even so, some candidates may, in the event, prove to be unsuitable for programming work, and special effort is made to impress upon candidates, both before the tests and at the stage of rejection, that no stigma is to be attached to any failure to show the particular qualities called for on this work.

10. One of the more difficult administrative decisions to take in planning a projected A.D.P. installation is whether the function should be absorbed into a particular departmental installation, or whether it should form part of a central common service system, that is, whether A.D.P. systems should be organised "vertically" or "horizontally." In U.K. Government departments, the present emphasis is mainly on the planning of departmental installations, but consideration is at the same time being given to the merging of some statistical and some pay roll operations. Consideration is also being given to the grouping of blocks of work on to a single computer installation in those cases where the individual blocks are so small as not to justify application to a computer system. (The pay roll system already in operation jointly by the Ministry of Supply and the National Assistance Board is an example of this type of system.) The underlying factors in resolving these arguments are these:

- (i) That large computers are cheaper than smaller ones if the cost is expressed as the cost per item of data handled per second. There are thus strong incentives to gathering together large blocks of work to support these large computers.
- (ii) Centralisation of work, on the other hand, brings with it certain problems of control, e.g., the resolution of priorities, and the particular problems of dealing with discrepancies in the input data to the system.

- (iii) Concentration of work on to a central computer, however, can in most circumstances enable greater efficiency to be achieved by the way in which peaks of work occurring on one job may be fitted into troughs occurring on another. Thereby (with the notable exception of pay roll) more uniform machine loading can be achieved.
- (iv) Although it is technically quite practicable to switch a computer rapidly from one type of work to another, e.g., from pay roll to statistics or to stock control, there are certain advantages in restricting the operations of the computer to not too dissimilar work, in order that the necessary programming skills may be husbanded and not scattered over too diverse a range of application.

The Indian Journal of Public Administration

Official organ of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi. Quarterly from January, 1955. Single copies, 5s. Annual Subscription, £1.

WHEN the reader learns that this *Journal* from India is now completing its fourth year, he may suppose that the delay in reviewing it must have been due to a certain cautious reserve on the part of the reviewer who was not satisfied that he could judge it on less than about a dozen issues. He would be wrong; the present reviewer begs to be excused from confessing the real reason for the delay. The considerable merits of this *Journal* have, in fact, been evident from the start.

The Editor was S. B. Bapat, who is well known in administrative circles in this country as one of the most outstanding of India's top-rank civil servants. He held the posts of Establishment Officer of the Government of India as well as Director of the Central O and M Division. From 1948 to 1955, he was also Principal of the Indian Administrative Service Training School. In each of these capacities he gained a considerable reputation and it was to be expected that under his energetic editorship the new *Journal* could not but flourish. It is, of course, significant, though by no means surprising, that the man for this job was found from within the administration itself rather than from some independent field. This does not appear, however, to give the *Journal* too much the air of an official publication. And it has evidently facilitated the important business of securing really well-informed articles from administrators in positions of high responsibility.

Some contributions are by men of political or general eminence; these are usually short and not all are platitudinous. But the bulk of the article material falls into three categories. First, there are a few contributions on or from other countries, e.g., Hon. Edwin Samuel on "Government in the Communal Villages of Israel"; "Public Service Unions in the U.S."; "Public Corporations in Japan"; "Post-war Housing Policy and Administration in England and Wales." Secondly, there are some articles on aspects of general administrative theory: "Thoughts on Co-ordination"; "Problems of Delegation"; and more than one contribution from the Government of India's administrative "consultant," Mr. Paul Appleby.

By far the most numerous group of articles, however, deal with particular parts and aspects of the Indian administrative structure. This is surely as it should be, and it is for these articles that readers outside India will be grateful. The present reviewer knows of no other comparable source of reliable and intimate information about the contemporary administrative scene in India. "Reorganising the India Income-Tax Department"; "Parliamentary Control over Delegated Legislation in India"; "Social Insurance Administration in India"; "Indian Airlines Corporation"; "The Training of the I.A.S."; "Recent Experiments in Local Self-Government in India"; this small random selection gives some idea of the range of topics. The material is mainly descriptive and critical comment limited, but it is no doubt part of the anticipated outcome of the *Journal* that fresh critical thinking will be stimulated.

In addition to a book review section and items of news about the Indian Institute of Public Administration, there are two further regular features of considerable value: "A Digest of Reports" and "News from India and Abroad." For readers in Britain anxious to learn more about Indian developments, the Indian portions of these two sections are exceptionally useful.

A great task is being tackled by the Indian administrator; in this *Journal* he has established an institution which not only for the first time informs the outside world but must also act as an aid and stimulus to his own work. The *Journal* is without exaggeration an indispensable part of the equipment for comparative administrative studies. It deserves our congratulations and support.

W. H. MORRIS-JONES

The I.I.A.S. Round Table at Liège

The 1958 Round Table of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences was held at Liège, the Belgian National Section thoughtfully acting as hosts this year so that those attending could have a convenient opportunity to visit the Brussels Universal Exhibition. The United Kingdom was represented by Sir Albert Day and Sir John R. Simpson, members of the Executive Council of the R.I.P.A., Dr. Brian Chapman of the University of Manchester and his wife, Mr. G. H. S. Jordan of H.M. Treasury, Mr. Henry Maddick of the University of Birmingham, and Mr. Raymond Nottage, Director of the R.I.P.A. The Institute's Australian members were represented by Mr. J. A. Aird, for many years Honorary Secretary of the Victorian Regional Group, and Mr. M. G. Cowie, Establishment Officer at Australia House, London.

The decision to meet in Belgium during the Exhibition year was not without its drawbacks. The conference discussions were held in the magnificent new Palais des Congrès, which the City of Liège has built on a fine site on

the bank of the Meuse as a regular meeting place for international conferences. Owing to the demands made by the Exhibition, however, the building was not finally ready for occupation, and the meeting of minds accustomed to a variety of administrative concepts and to thinking and expressing themselves in a score of languages was not assisted by the cross rhythms of the workmen's hammers. Also the delegates had to be accommodated in a block of flats doing duty for the duration of the Exhibition as a temporary hotel, and this did not provide the customary hotel facilities which permit delegates to meet one another most easily outside the Conference sessions.

The Round Table had three main subjects for discussion :

(1) *Devolution of Powers to Autonomous Institutions.* This subject, for which Dr. Brian Chapman was the *Rapporteur Général*, dealt with such administrative bodies as the public corporation in the United Kingdom, and discussed the extent to which such organisations were autonomous in theory and in practice. The ways by which autonomous institutions were created and the methods by which they might be controlled were also described by some of the speakers.

(2) *Automation and the Relevant Problems in Public Administrative Agencies.* There were two *Rapporteurs Généraux* for this subject. Mr. Starreveld of the Netherlands dealt with the details of electronic machines, and Mr. Lowell H. Hattery of the United States concentrated on the staffing problems to which electronic developments gave rise. The question was considered whether the I.I.A.S. should seek to become a clearing house for information on electronic equipment installations, and there was general agreement that this should be done, but that the I.I.A.S. should concentrate rather on the administrative and personnel aspects than on the technical details.

(3) *Hearing and Consultation Procedure in Public Administration.* This subject, for which the *Rapporteurs Généraux* were M. Jacques Dembour and M. Jacques Stassen of Belgium, was concerned with what we term "Advisory Bodies" in Britain, and with the informal consultations that take place with non-governmental organisations like the Federation of British Industries and the T.U.C. It was interesting to observe how the system of seeking advice from organisations and people outside government service had been adopted in many countries, although some of the delegates stressed the limited number of suitable people that were available in their countries for this kind of public service.

The discussions on these subjects were interesting and, as always, revealed fascinating differences in the approaches which various countries make to them. They would have been more rewarding, however, if the delegates could have had their papers a week or two before the Round Table met instead of on arrival and during the course of it. It is good to know that action has already been taken by the Director General of the I.I.A.S. to ensure that a satisfactory procedure will be followed next year.

It is frequently said, and one feels all too often that it ought not to be so, that the most valuable parts of conferences are the informal meetings rather than the discussions which go on within the conference hall. This Round Table certainly provided a full and pleasant measure of personal contacts.

The United Kingdom delegates had profitable discussions with many old friends, among them Mr. Herbert Emmerich, for many years Director of the Public Administration Clearing House in the United States and now a Public Administration Consultant to the United Nations, and Professor Menon, Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. He and the other Indian delegates very courteously entertained some of the U.K. delegates to lunch. Among the new friends the British delegates acquired was Mr. Charles Murray, Secretary of the recently founded Institute of Public Administration in Dublin, who was representing that body for the first time at a meeting of the International Institute.

A Sunday visit to the Universal Exhibition in Brussels provided an opportunity for examination of some of the more unusual facets of public administration, although giving further evidence of familiar big-power rivalries. The United Kingdom delegates were welcomed to the British Government Pavilion as distinguished visitors and were impressed, as apparently many others were, by the quality of the Central Office of Information's achievement in this project. They also dined, because it was at hand and not too full, in the Restaurant provided for the gourmand plutocrat by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. On the way home, as they contemplated the gaps torn in their foreign currency, they came regretfully to the conclusion that it would have been wiser to have patronised the United States' more plebeian snack bar, or the Britannia Inn of Old England—by courtesy of Messrs. Whitbread Ltd.

Correspondence

THE SUPREME COURT IN INDIA

I AGREE with Mr. Geoffrey Marshall in his review of my recent book, *The Supreme Court and Judicial Review in India*, that "if it were true . . . that the Court would 'admit an application for a writ (of habeas corpus) from an aggrieved party only, except when a person was in detention' the remedy could hardly be one for which many could have occasion to apply." Your reviewer, however, has rather carelessly interpolated (of habeas corpus) after a writ and thus made my statement look sillier than it otherwise might have looked. If his interpolation is removed what I said would become clear. The Supreme Court in India admits an application for a writ (any writ) from the aggrieved party only. But when a man is in detention anyone else may also apply for a writ (of habeas corpus) as also the aggrieved party.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

Sholapur.
29th July, 1958.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Building Contracts of Local Authorities

THE seventh in the series "Studies of Administrative Methods", *Building Contracts of Local Authorities*, published in November, is the report of a Study Group set up by the Institute under the chairmanship of Sir Parker Morris, lately Town Clerk of the City of Westminster.

The Institute embarked on this Study at the suggestion of Mr. R. S. McDougall who was at the time County Treasurer of Hertfordshire. It became apparent that the delay so often occurring before the accounts were finally settled was caused mainly by the practices followed at earlier stages. The Report therefore reviews all stages of a building scheme to ascertain in what ways current procedures could be improved. The changes recommended will almost certainly lead to simplification of the final accounts and to their speedier settlement and will also contribute to the more efficient administration of building schemes generally.

Copies of the report have been circulated free to corporate members, but can also be purchased for 5s. 3d. each, post free, on application to the Institute.

The Institute's Conference at Bonn

THE lectures at Bonn, around which the Institute's Conference there in August revolved, were on the constitution, social services, nationalised industries, local government and the public servant in the Federal Republic of Western Germany. But the fifty-six delegates did not spend their time exclusively in making a detailed study of the statutory obligations of the *Bundesbahn* or in evaluating the constitutional relationship between the different States of the Federation. Pleasant hours were passed in motoring to the abbey at Maria Laach and the Ahr valley and in cruising on the Rhine as well as in exploring Bonn itself.

Regional Groups

THE new building at the University at Nottingham and the fine weather combined to make an excellent setting for the Nottingham and East Midlands Regional Group's one-day conference on *Personal Relations in Public Administration*. The Group was fortunate in securing as chairman of the conference, Mr. J. O. Blair-Cunynghame, Member for Staff on the National Coal Board. Over 100 people attended drawn largely from local authorities and public corporations in the district. Two papers were given—*Personal Relations in Local Government* by Mr. A. G. D. Collis, Establishment Officer of the Middlesex County Council and *Management and Staff—A Common Interest* by Mr. R. A. Hayward, Secretary General to the Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council. The Conference ended with a most useful discussion of points raised during the day.

The Central Yorkshire Group's activities at Leeds are now being supported by an increasing number from all branches of the public service. In the autumn the Group held a very successful one-day conference on *Delegation and Decentralisation in Administration* and a series of talks on *The Administration of the Education Service*. It is planned to give lectures in the New Year on *Organisational Problems of a large-scale Industrial Unit*; *O & M in the Public Service*, and *Electronic Data Processing*.

Earlier this year it was decided to amalgamate the Liverpool and Manchester Groups into one North-Western Regional Group which would serve the whole area and arrange Group activities in two or three centres. For the 1958-59 season lectures and meetings have been arranged in Liverpool, Manchester and Preston.

Presentation of the First Diploma in Government Administration

MR. NEVIL JOHNSON, now a Principal in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, was presented with the first Diploma in Government Administration at the opening lecture of the Institute's autumn series on "Government and Industry". Mr. Johnson was the only candidate to take both parts of the first Final examination to be held and he is thus for the coming months the only holder of the new Diploma. The presentation was made by Mr. R. J. C. Kenrick, Chairman of the Executive Council, on behalf of the Institute and of the Local Government Examinations Board who organize the D.G.A. examination. Mr. Johnson was presented also with a copy of "The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory" by Gunnar Myrdal in recognition of his achievement.

New Diploma Arrangements in Scotland

IN the next and subsequent examinations, Scottish students will be permitted to answer questions according to Scottish Law and Local Government, provided that their intention to do so is specified on their entry forms. The syllabus for the Diploma will remain the same as for candidates in England and Wales, except that all references to English Law should be amended to read Scottish Law and references to Local Government will be to Local Government in Scotland. Examination centres for the Diploma will also be organised in Scotland.

The Canadian Journal of Public Administration

IN March this year the Institute of Public Administration of Canada published the first number of its new quarterly journal *Canadian Public Administration*. The Editor, Malcolm Taylor, is also chairman of the Editorial Board of six. The first three numbers of the Journal have contained a selection of interesting articles, reviews of several books and notes of topical interest.

Changes at Haldane House

THE Institute has long felt the need for more spacious accommodation on account of the ever-increasing amount of work it is undertaking. The removal of the library to its new premises at 82 New Cavendish Street was completed in June and in October the subsequent re-arrangement at Haldane House was finished. This provided two small study rooms—much appreciated by the members of the thirteenth O & M Course in October—ample storage and packing space and a larger conference-lecture room, which, with its newly completed decoration, adds grace to the Institute's Headquarters.

Saturday Opening of the Institute Library

As from 17th January, 1959, the Institute's library will be open on the first and third Saturday of each month from 9 a.m. to 12 noon. It is hoped that this new facility will be helpful to members who find it difficult to visit the library during the rest of the week.

BOOK REVIEWS

The British Political System

By ANDRÉ MATHIOT. Translated from the French by Jennifer S. Hines.
Hogarth Press, London. Pp. 352. 30s.

MATHIOT is a Professor in Law and Director of the Institute of Political Studies in the University of Grenoble. So he has good credentials for the study of parliamentary government. He is well read in our history. Anticipating a French critique of our system and, particularly, an informative comparison between the French and British systems, I opened the book with a good deal of pleasurable anticipation.

But I must confess that I was disappointed. Certainly it is well written. It is interesting and informative and therefore worth reading. The ground is covered. He understands our system very well—indeed the book could have almost been by a British writer; which is a pity.

However, there is nothing much new in the volume. I had a feeling that for the most part I had read it all before; sometimes not so well done and sometimes better done. An excellent book for French readers in its original French edition, but not sufficiently distinctive or new for an English translation. There are occasional and mostly minor comparisons with French practice, but not enough. Repeatedly I was wanting to know: how is this done (or was done) in France? What would French politicians think of this or that British practice? and found my questions unanswered. Moreover there are a number of inaccuracies—quite forgivable in a foreign professor but which could have

been put right by his British friends; and some contradictions.

But let it not be thought that I consider this a bad book. It is not. This Professor of the University of Grenoble has a remarkable knowledge of our history, of our constitution and how it works, of our political parties. Clearly he likes the British and their political ways, which I would certainly not class as a fault!

And consider the relevance of the ground he covers:

The Source of Power: Power of the People; Electoral System; Political parties and the two-party system.

The Organisation of Power: Cabinet Government; Preponderance of the Executive; Cabinet as heir to Prerogatives of the Crown; Government based on Will of the People.

The Limitation of Power: British Constitution and Liberty; Roll of Electorate and Public Opinion; Parliament; Monarchy; Judiciary; Administrative System; Liberties of the Subject.

Yes, the volume constitutes a well-organised field of study. M. Mathiot attaches particular importance to the Opposition in Parliament: as critic, alternative Government, as one of the guardians of liberty. France has suffered from the absence of a recognised, responsible, official Opposition.

HERBERT MORRISON

Anonymous Empire: a Study of the Lobby in Great Britain

By PROFESSOR S. E. FINER. The Pall Mall Press Limited, London.
Pp. viii+150. 12s 6d.

WHAT exactly is the Lobby? What does it do? What can interest groups achieve? Do they really run Whitehall and Westminster? What happens to the public interest?

These are the questions Professor Finer sets out to answer in his new book,

Anonymous Empire. Written for the general public, it is intensely readable and direct. Indeed, at times, it is positively gripping. So much the better. The sniff of vicuna coats and expensive presents makes the whole subject so newsworthy and a crusading academic is

a much more formidable figure than some others who might buckle themselves temporarily into the armour of (self)-righteousness.

"The term Lobby," he writes, "... embraces all groups, but only in so far as they seek to influence public policy." There are the business Lobbies, the labour Lobbies, the professions, the civic interests, the special sections of society, the Churches and the cultural groups.

The Lobbyist toils to the unpastoral rhythm of the parliamentary cycle hoping that the seeds he sows will bring forth fruit in due season. For a successful harvest he must keep everyone sweet: public; civil servant; and M.P. Each of these processes is considered in detail, together with the conditions of success and the obstacles to be overcome.

In his last chapters, Professor Finer tabulates the institutions, procedures and beliefs which "tame" the Lobbies. He assesses their contribution to society, weighing their disadvantages against their merits and leaving no doubt as to where his sympathies lie. Finally are a few suggestions for tackling the problem of Lobby pressure. This brief summary should be enough by way of recommendation. The book will be read—and will certainly be enjoyed—by all who are interested in politics.

But there are two grave defects in it which cannot be overlooked. Professor Finer has allowed his crusading zeal to lead him into serious exaggeration. And after marshalling his case against the Lobby he has given far too little attention to the more interesting question of what we can do about it.

Take first the exaggeration. At the end of Chapter II he writes of the Lobby in these words:

"Their day-to-day activities pervade every sphere of domestic policy, every day, every way, at every nook and cranny of government. They are an empire—but an anonymous empire."

Empire? Is that the word to describe it? The characteristics of an empire are absolute control over wide dominions. But the Lobby is just the opposite. It is a warring jungle of unreconciled and irreconcilable interests, none recognising any master but itself. To suggest that there is a despotic, organised, centralised conspiracy anonymously exercising

supreme power is to miss the whole point. Among the many dangers of the Lobby monolithic imperialism is not one.

This wildly inaccurate diagnosis leads Professor Finer inescapably to conclusions that border on the ridiculous. The very last paragraph in the whole book deals with party meetings in the Palace of Westminster in these words:

"When we realise, as we must, that the debates upstairs are often conflicts between the claims of the rival Lobbies in the parties concerned, surely it is clear that we, the general public, the people who have the right to know, are being denied the opportunity to judge between the true contestants—between the prime movers—between the real issues? Instead we are treated to the premeditated speech, tossed back and forth across the floor of the House blocs who have already formed their opinions in secrecy. This secrecy, this twilight of parliamentary debate envelops the Lobby in its own obscurity. Through this, above all, the Lobbies become—as far as the general public is concerned—faceless, voiceless, unidentifiable; in brief, anonymous."

This is simply not true. To equate the party with the Lobby and to muddle the privacy of party meetings with the secret proceedings of the pressure groups is to forfeit the serious consideration that this subject requires. Even the most formidable interests cannot capture a political party. Some do not even try. During the whole of the London bus strike in May, 1958, Mr. Cousins' giant Transport and General Workers' Union did not even communicate with Labour M.P.s. Indeed it was almost impossible to get a statement of their case out of their office. And with so many of the T.U.C. General Council lukewarm to the enterprise, the Labour Party was subjected to no internal pressure.

Nor does a party meeting to decide which way to vote in the House in any way weaken the independence of view expressed in debate. No one who has listened to the speeches in the House of Commons in any major debate can seriously uphold the view that they were all rewritten to reflect the majority in the caucus upstairs.

Professor Finer's second failure is in the weakness of his recommendations.

He writes as if the Lobby had suddenly appeared to corrupt the purity of British democracy. But the reverse is the truth. Pressure by interest groups is as old as history: the Barons, the Army, the Landowners, and later the new industrialists. The slick operation of the public relations men with their discreet lunches and brief cases bulging with weighted memoranda is just the latest manifestation. It is the Democratic Institutions which are really new. The Lobby has to work to prove its case nowadays.

Of course, the balance between the private interests and the public interest is still far from right. The Lobby of the rich and the strong will always tend to overpower that of the poor and the weak. There is always the danger of blackmail by unrepresentative Lobby leaders.

But the remedy lies in strengthening those elements that derive their power from the nation as a whole. Edmund Burke's letter to the Bristol Lobby struck exactly the right note. But if they are to compete with the wealth and facilities and resources of the Lobby, Members of Parliament must be backed by an organisation no less efficient.

While every Lobby in the land can deduct from its taxable expenses all it spends on film shows and exhibitions and research for memoranda and briefs, M.P.s are supposed to remain what they were a hundred years ago, men of leisure, writing the occasional letter in the library of the "Best club in Europe." It is a plain dereliction of duty that they allow themselves to work under such an obvious handicap.

But what of the wider implications of all this? The Yugoslav Communist Party in its famous policy statement now regarded as the classic Revisionist heresy has perhaps touched on the central point. If the State machine—including Parliament and the Civil Service—can really acquire an impetus of its own, distinct from the pressures of Communist or Capitalist ideology, then perhaps there is hope. I wish Professor Finer had found time to go more deeply into this sort of question. Perhaps he can be persuaded to come back to it again.

ANTHONY WEDGWOOD BENN

Outlines of Central Government

By JOHN J. CLARKE. Pitman, 1958. Pp. 272. 25s.

THIS book first appeared nearly forty years ago and is now in its twelfth edition, a monument to the pertinacity of its author. I made its acquaintance in 1936 when I was a sixth-former preparing for a Royal Society of Arts examination. It struck me then as a peculiarly unsuitable work to give to a young student, and time has not led me to change my view. In the first place, the conception of the book is all wrong; it is not a textbook, as its author and his publishers claim, but a curious hotch-potch of facts (many of them of doubtful value to beginners), classification (much of it unsatisfactory), and principles (some of them spurious). What, for example, will the earnest young man from Ghana—or from Sutton Coldfield for that matter—make of such statements as "Politics is history in the making. It is really inseparable from Ethics," or of the inclusion as a "Principle Affecting the Functions of Government" of the dictum "The State should not enter upon undertakings of a speculative character"? Will he be any the wiser

for the knowledge that a rigid constitution "maintains stability," but a flexible constitution is "less susceptible to the spirit of revolution"? There is a whole series of statements of this kind, torn from their original context, and without supporting argument and illustration. The result can only be muddle and confusion in the minds of the unsophisticated.

The facts themselves are faulty in many particulars. To begin with, they are presented in a manner calculated to tempt the student to learn them by heart; and, experience suggests, without much understanding of their significance. They are selected in a very curious way. It is not, I should have thought, vital to an understanding of the place of the Queen in contemporary society to know that she has a right to all sturgeon—nor even, for that matter, that she was crowned in Westminster Abbey on 2nd June, 1953. Sixty of the two hundred and sixty pages of text are devoted to an alarming miscellany of information about the central

Departments, including the addresses of the branches of H.M. Stationery Office and the fact that "the work of the British Rainfall Organisation was transferred to the Meteorological Office in 1919." It is altogether typical of the book that, although we are told that the Coal Industry Nationalisation Act, 1946, "comprises nine Divisions, sixty-five sections, and four Schedules," we are given no hint of the functions of the National Coal Board. Secondly, though Mr. Clarke tells us in his preface that the type has been "completely reset," it is clear that the revision has been perfunctory. Much material is out of date (and therefore highly misleading to students) and could usefully have been removed, e.g., the recommendations of the Committee on Inland Waterways, 1920, and the provisions of the Coal Act, 1938. Some material should have been, but has not been, brought up to date, e.g., the Ministry of Works no longer licenses building work (p. 96), the list of Divisions in the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (p. 104) appears to date from 1938 or perhaps earlier, the top organisation of the Treasury (p. 202) is similarly many years out of date. Thirdly, the condensing of a mass of material leads to a number of misleading impressions, e.g., that the Select Committee on National Expenditure

still exists, and that the Select Committee on Estimates has not reported since 1932 (p. 217). Finally, there are a considerable number of straight errors, e.g., it is not true that a former M.P. vacates the office of Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds immediately after the by-election (p. 33); it is not true that those who serve on Royal Commissions are "always experts" (p. 44); the Sugar Board is not "now the British Sugar Corporation Ltd." (p. 107), they are separate bodies; it is not "the practice" to include the Financial Secretary to the Treasury as one of the members of the Public Accounts Committee. These, alas, are not defects assiduously collected by the reviewer in order to show off; they are a random sample of what is to be found throughout the entire book. Printer's errors always slip through at the proof-reading stage, but the name of the chairman of the recent Royal Commission on the Civil Service (Sir Raymond "Printley," p. 70) might perhaps be corrected at the next reprinting? Or is it not too late to suggest to Mr. Clarke that he should scrap the whole thing and start again? He would be doing a real service to many thousands of students (not to mention their examiners) if he did.

J. W. GROVE

Vitality in Administration

Addresses to the Institute by the RT. HON. HERBERT MORRISON, BASIL SMALLPEICE, SIR ALEXANDER FLECK, SIR WILFRED NEDEN, A. D. BONHAM-CARTER and MAJOR-GENERAL G. N. RUSSELL. George Allen and Unwin. Pp. 78. 8s. 6d.

THIS little book is a collection of addresses given before the Institute in 1956 by some well-known leaders in industry and public administration. It is not a symposium: on the contrary each author seems to have been invited to direct his attention to a specific, and different, aspect of the general subject. Thus the unity—if unity there be—in their thinking has to be sought out: it does not lie on the surface. Mr. Smallpeice discusses the impact on his organisation of intense international competition and its reaction to that competition. Sir Alexander Fleck is concerned with the pressure of constant technical and technological change, and the needs and opportunities which it creates. Mr. Bonham-Carter, as Personnel Director of a very large and diversified concern making a great variety of products

under competition, addresses himself to the problems of organisational structure and administrative techniques. Major-General Russell, of British Road Services, has a somewhat similar viewpoint, but is dealing with a near-monopoly (as it was then) publicly owned. Sir Wilfred Neden explores more generally the *desiderata* of good industrial and public administration, as seen from the vantage point of a Chief Industrial Commissioner: he should know quite a lot about it.

Does all this—good and valuable as it undoubtedly is—add up to a prescription for "vitality in administration"? Surely the answer is that we should be foolish if we expected any such thing, and the authors would be the last to claim that there is any one royal road to that desirable goal. What does come very clearly out

of these discussions is that there are certain basic attitudes in the higher management which are vitally important if the enterprise, whatever it be, is to be, and to remain, alive. How these attitudes express themselves in actual organisation is a complex matter, in which there is not much room for generalisation, though what the several authors have to say about their own organisational structures is full of interest.

What are those attitudes? Two seem to stand out. The one is a determination to make the personnel, at *all* levels, feel that they are engaged in a common enterprise directed to an understood end. "Building up good faith and mutual respect between people who have to work together," Sir Wilfred Neden calls it: and, he adds, "it takes a long time to achieve." In pursuing this objective, as the various papers show, organisation, procedures, behaviour, all play their part. Anything "phony" will be fatal. There is no place for "yes men." But, if these distinguished administrators are to be believed, the thing *can* be done.

The other is the great emphasis placed on decentralisation. "For my part," writes Mr. Basil Smallpeice, "I believe that an essential element in securing and maintaining vitality in administration is to arrange that decisions are never taken

nearer the centre than is absolutely necessary." This line of thought emerges in all the papers. Its working out in actual organisation and procedures must vary with the conditions of particular concerns: but the principle remains.

It is not possible, in this short notice, to comment on the papers in detail: suffice it to say that many of the particular arrangements in organisation, procedure and practices are of great interest. Such, for instance, as the preference, in more than one paper, for a "staff-and-line" executive organisation over a strictly functional organisation on Taylorian principles. Mr. Bonham-Carter has suggestive things to say about the "efficiency audit," and the processes of what he calls "self-examination" in the Unilever combine. Nor is there space to do more than mention Mr. Herbert Morrison's paper—a characteristic piece of realistic thinking by a sage and experienced politician, though perhaps not quite in its right place in present company.

Altogether a stimulating little book for those responsible for, or interested in the art of, higher management. I would commend it in particular to Professor Parkinson: it might make him a little less depressing.

HENRY N. BUNBURY

Clerical Unions in the Civil Service

By B. V. HUMPHREYS. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. Pp. 241. 30s.

THE first and, for a decade, the only full-scale authoritative book on that characteristically British creation the Whitley system in the Civil Service was the one written by an American, the late Professor Leonard D. White of Chicago. Now we owe to another American an equally comprehensive and penetrating study, which may well stand unrivalled, of the beginnings and the growth in size and strength and standing of the clerical organisations in the Service on whom, as one of its main pillars, the Whitley system rests.

The work was undertaken as a thesis for a Ph.D. degree awarded by the University of London, but the potential reader need not fear a dull researcher's style, for with the care of the scholar and the zest of the investigator Miss Humphreys combines

the historian's capacity to illuminate events and interpret the motives of those who sought to mould them. Thus the story, in its nature of great interest, is made very readable.

It spans a century. The first organised expressions of clerical staff discontent—nothing more wicked than attempted petitions to the Treasury—made their appearance in the 1850s and it was actually in 1858 that the first standing committee—it did not stand for long—for the representation of staff grievances was formed by the Surveyors (now Inspectors) of Taxes.

Over the next three or four decades sporadic efforts were made to form combinations, all very sectional, mainly for the presentation of memorials and—rather more usefully—for parliamentary agitation.

Not until the 1890s did clerical organisations begin to establish themselves in the Service on a permanent basis. Years passed even then before they could secure official recognition but once this had been conceded the organisations forged ahead. Lobbying Members of Parliament assiduously, they mustered support in the House which on occasion secured enquiries leading to concessions that they were in no position to negotiate directly.

From then on the build-up of the clerical associations' strength steadily continued until today these organisations, with the rest, enjoy, not only through Whitley machinery but outside it as well,

an equality of status (but not of power) which would have been as staggering to the earliest pioneers of staff organisation as it would to the administrators who regarded these pioneers as fomenters of "a sea of turmoil and lawlessness."

The Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council—representing, be it remembered, many other organisations besides the clerical—did well to encourage the publication of a history of such interest to the student of staff administration and, not less, to the staffs to which that history belongs.

ALBERT DAY

The Essentials of Public Administration

By E. N. Gladden. 2nd Edition. Staples Press, 1958. Pp. 253. 21s.

THIS new edition of Dr. Gladden's *Essentials* is little changed from the form in which it first appeared in 1952. It includes a new section on automation (which contains the highly questionable assertion that automation will provide statesmen with "the means of reaching more accurate and earlier policy decisions"); the chapter on policy-making has been slightly enlarged without noticeably adding to its value; and there are one or two other minor additions and amendments.

Dr. Gladden is a great enthusiast for his subject, and is familiar with most of the accessible literature (if such it can be called) both British and American. A busy civil servant, he has managed to find time to do what the professional teachers of the subject in this country have so far failed to do, namely, write a text-book. It may, therefore, be churlish to criticise, but one cannot help wishing that Dr. Gladden had resisted the temptation to ape the academic writer and had instead written a book from the inside and from the point of view of middle management—a task for which he is well qualified. How much more valuable that would have been is the conclusion to which one is irresistibly driven after contemplating the present rather odd *melange*. It is surely too elementary for the professional administrator of experience, too obscure for the struggling student? The reader is not helped by Dr. Gladden's diffuse style e.g., "where

direct contacts are not effective especially where more than one hierarchic line is concerned, both within the authority and between a number of authorities all concerned in a specific activity, meetings in committees may be appropriate . . ." (co-ordinating committees are sometimes useful in bringing together representatives of different divisions and Departments?). "Had the politicians who designed the general nationalisation plan given more study to the administrative implications of what they were setting out to do, there can be little doubt that many of the subsequent changes would have been rendered unnecessary by the greater validity of their original plans" (Nationalisation would have proceeded more smoothly if the administrative difficulties had been more closely studied at the planning stage?). Moreover, his conclusions are often so desperately vague. What is meant, for example, by: "the main task is to control the public administrator who must be neutralised politically and used scientifically"? Or "One of today's great problems of personnel management is to discover how to break out of the vicious circle of restriction and counter-restriction and to introduce into a non-competitive situation new ways of encouraging enterprise . . . etc."

I should like to take a leaf out of Dr. Gladden's book. He says that "this is essentially a practical subject with which

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the cloistered (sic!) academic is not competent to cope on his own. He has much to contribute but without practical inside knowledge his tuition is likely to be unrealistic and tend to concentrate upon the matters that are more accessible, which are thus assigned an undue importance in the

academic scheme." I agree, Dr. Gladden. How helpful it would be if you would provide us with that inside knowledge and experience instead of concentrating on material that is already (too) accessible.

J. W. GROVE

Local Government in Southern Nigeria

By PHILIP J. HARRIS. Cambridge University Press. Pp. xii + 348. 30s.

THE pattern of the development of local government in English colonial territories during the last two decades is now becoming clear, and surprisingly alike in different areas. Native authorities, the "natural rulers" sought out by the English administration in the last century, and confirmed in their position by statute, have been found wanting under modern conditions. Efficient but conservative, carrying prestige, yet unrepresentative in a democratic sense, these authorities have rapidly undergone transformation into institutions which would have surprised the colonial administrators of the nineteenth century. The problems of transformation have been many, for added to the normal difficulties of making changes have been constant demands for improved standards of service, universal financial stringency, and usually a changing political situation. But the achievements are considerable, and a visit to a colony to look at local government, or participation in a conference of local government administrators from the overseas territories, is in the main a heartening experience.

There have been numerous conferences, official despatches, and reports on individual territories, and now books are appearing. May they all be as good as the book under review! Mr. Harris, who has run the local government course at Ibadan, has a strictly practical aim. He has set out to provide the local government member and official with a manual of guidance. He confines himself to Southern Nigeria—i.e., the East and West Regions—but also considers his subject in relation to English local government, from which modern Nigerian local government has derived. In a series of chapters he explains, simply and clearly, why it was in the nature of things—given the general

desire for representative government on the English style—that local authorities should come into being to supersede the native authorities. Whether from modesty or otherwise—Mr. Harris was once a district officer—the author says practically nothing of the part played by district officers in the local government in the days of the native authorities, nor of their work in the creation of the new regime. He represents the new local government authorities as the successors of the native authorities, and not as the successors of a joint system of district officers and native authorities. This is interesting, because in so many areas the new local government took over a deal of work from the district officers as well as from native authorities.

Having made clear the distinguishing features of the new type of authority—its representative basis, the close control of constitutions by central government, and the independence of local authorities one from another—Mr. Harris proceeds to discuss in a series of admirably short chapters, the various features of local authorities. He takes the local government ordinances of the East and West Region, which are printed in full as appendices, and shows what they mean and how they are intended to work. Chairmen are told how meetings should be conducted, clerks are introduced to the proper ways of handling correspondence, election officers are shown how to run elections, and members are introduced to the working of the member-officer relationship. It is all admirably done, with the minimum of words and with obvious appreciation of the difficulties. The book will be of value to territories outside Southern Nigeria, and is something of an object lesson in the writing of a book on administration. Considering the vast and complex operations of English local

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authorities there has been singularly little written by way of practical guide to the administrator, though general books on local government abound. When they arrive one hopes they will be as free from

the jargon which infects writing on local government as this book on local government administration in the largest of the British African territories.

A. H. MARSHALL

Urban Government

By BENJAMIN BAKER. Van Nostrand (New York), Macmillan (London), 1957. Pp. 572+xi. 48s.

THIS is a college textbook on city government in the United States by Professor Baker, of Rutgers University. Adequate treatment of his subject is difficult because of the great variety of local conditions in a federal system that embraces a sub-continent. However, the ground is fully covered. The book describes the development of municipal institutions, finance, politics, courts and administration, and the relationships of the city with state and federal authorities. An introductory section includes some simple generalities about the sociology of urban life. British students of American local government are probably most interested in the different methods of policy formation and administrative control in American cities: they will find Professor Baker unhelpful as his book contains nothing new. Indeed, the explanation of the principles of the mayor-council, commission, council-city manager and mayor-administrator systems occupies only as much space as the chapter on

municipal fire prevention.

Urban Government is set firmly in the tradition of American textbooks. For its purpose, no doubt, it is excellent. It is clearly written and well produced; each chapter is divided into sections, the last of which is entitled "Summary" or "Conclusion"; many of the paragraphs have their own sub-titles; each chapter has a considerable bibliography; the footnotes total 1,286 and the book approaches a quarter of a million words. The text includes many quotations from other authorities and we are reminded of most of the famous tags of politics—what Lord Acton said about power, what Pope said about administration, and what Napoleon said about the stomach of armies.

Some people like this sort of book; others do not. Essentially it is a question of taste. But will many readers on this side of the Atlantic find it stimulating or exciting?

PETER G. RICHARDS

Parish Administration

By CHARLES ARNOLD-BAKER. Methuen, 1958. Pp. xv+432. 42s.

WHEN in 1894 the Local Government Act was passed, it was generally hailed as introducing a new era in English government. Dr. Redlich regarded it as finally justifying de Tocqueville's prophecy of the triumph of democratic ideas; Dr. Spence Watson proclaimed that "it will abolish patronage and banish privilege. For the rule of the few it will substitute the responsibility and co-operation of the many." For reasons which Mr. Arnold-Baker explains, the new Parish Councils did not in fact achieve as much as was hoped; they did some useful work in the villages, but they did not introduce a new age of local democracy. They were

restricted in powers and in wealth, and failed to fire the imagination of the people. Since the last war, however, there has been a notable revival, and, with the impetus given by the National Association of Parish Councils, they have done more to justify their creation. They have developed, however, less as executive bodies than as spokesmen for the people of the villages; expressing their views and protecting their interests in a world thick with Boards, Commissions and Inspectors.

Mr. Arnold-Baker is Secretary of the National Association of Parish Councils, and is also a barrister with a detailed knowledge of local government law. In this

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volume he offers a complete and systematic account of the powers and duties of parish councils, parish meetings and other parish authorities. The number of pages and the accumulation of Acts and cases referred to might make a newly elected councillor apprehensive, but in fact the text is so well arranged and the explanation so lucid that his fears would be vain. The book will, in fact, prove to be a most valuable guide and friend both to the councillor and clerk and to the practising lawyer. In the second half of the book the relevant statutes since 1836 are reprinted for reference, and even legislation now before Parliament is described.

This is essentially a legal text book, and as such it is admirable. It does not attempt to deal with problems of parish administration in a more general way, nor to consider the difficulties involved in small-scale government. Within his chosen framework Mr. Arnold-Baker has done a most valuable piece of work. There is, however, one point on which he is perhaps misleading; he states on p. 62 that "A committee is a temporary body which derives its powers from delegation by one or more authorities who may terminate both its functions and its existence," and, on p. 63, "without the leave of the delegating authority a committee cannot appoint sub-committees, nor can it delegate its functions further." In both these sentences it is apparently assumed that committees and sub-committees necessarily exercise delegated powers, with authority to make final decisions. But in practice a very large number of committees and the majority

of sub-committees have no such power; they merely advise and recommend to the superior body, and their recommendations need to be confirmed before they are effective. This is an essential distinction, and, in fact, one which causes considerable controversy in local authorities.

A legal text book of this sort inevitably presents a rather formal picture of the working of an institution. A recital and explanation of the legal framework of council meetings cannot but give an impression of their meetings being conducted in accordance with strict rules and protocol. In practice a parish council often meets round the table in a small room; it discusses, rather than debates, and its decisions are reached more often by "the sense of the meeting" than by an exact counting of heads or hands. It is perhaps more like the Cabinet than the House of Commons. Mr. Arnold-Baker states with accuracy and clarity the rules which govern procedure, but, through no fault of his, one is left with an impression of a formal assembly rather than of a group of villagers discussing parish matters round the table. The Chairman and Clerk will, however, need to have his book beside them as a guide for the occasions when the legal procedure has to be complied with.

There can be no doubt that this book will come to be regarded as the leading text book on the subject; Arnold-Baker on Parish Administration will take its place beside such well-established works as Lumley on Public Health and Ryde on Rating.

B. KEITH-LUCAS

Child Care: Working Together

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. Edinburgh and East of Scotland Regional Group, 1957. Pp. 84. 4s.

How many kinds of conferences are there? There are the scientific, the learned, the educational and the refresher-course types of conferences. There is the cross-fertilising conference when, for instance, industrialists, training college staff, teachers and university people discuss what kind of school education they want their recruits to have had. There is the mammoth international conference where everyone has earphones and makes prepared statements although no one confers. There

are passive conferences and participant conferences, propaganda and campaigning conferences. There is the money-raising conference and the hardy annual conference. Every now and then there is a conference which those attending really want, because they have become concerned about something new to them and need to compare notes with other people.

The conference held at Peebles last year on the initiative of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Regional Group of the

Royal Institute of Public Administration seems to have been of the latter kind, and the conference papers and discussions now published as a result give a good idea of the uncertainties and changing attitudes in the child care field in Scotland just now, set against the convictions and unchanging attitudes of Scottish tradition in other aspects of life.

The conference met "to consider how to prevent the break-up of the family group of the home and how the public authorities and the voluntary organisations can co-operate in doing this," and dealt with the subject in three parts: the role of the statutory authorities, the role of the voluntary bodies, and a final session on co-ordinating the work of the statutory and voluntary bodies. Sir Basil Henriques, as the introductory speaker, took a header into the deep end by raising once again the whole problem of the focus of our social services. Once it was poverty; but in the course of this century we decided that we did not need a focus, and departmentalised on that assumption—a development which has put a premium on co-operation. Sir Basil boldly suggested a new focus—the Home and the Family—for which he required a Minister of Child Welfare centrally, and a Director of Child and Family Welfare locally, housed in "an inviting and artistically equipped building."

There seem to have been no takers; the conference eschewed the speculative and

chiefly discussed making better use of existing ways and means of co-ordination. Several interesting points emerged: one was that the most efficacious way of achieving co-ordination and co-operation between the different social services is to give their respective staff a common training; another was that "in only a minority of areas or of individuals is there much understanding of the reasons for keeping families together. The argument of administrative and financial economy is so attractive to most if not all Treasurers and Councillors that it has tended to obscure the real point . . ."; a third was that there are two children per 1,000, in "long-term" care in Scotland for every one in England, and that, in spite of a general notion to the contrary, "the case for re-organising the family and child-care services in 1948 appears to have been more and not less pressing in Scotland than in England." Mr. Mack observed in passing that it was difficult not to give the new Children's Departments and Children's Officers some credit for the reduction in the numbers of children in "long-term" care which has come about since 1948. The discussion, however, was by no means confined to child care and ranged over a wide selection of the factors which influence the quality and stability of family life, including housing, education and prison sentences.

UNA CORMACK

British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century

By A. F. YOUNG and F. T. ASHTON. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956. Pp. 264. 25s.

IN 1956, a group of ex-Fulbright scholars and visiting American social workers sought to prepare succeeding U.S.A. visitors for the British social scene by a survey of some aspects of its social services and of the different attitudes of British social workers. "The capacity of the British people to cope with social change in an orderly and gradual way is well known but one needs to observe it first hand to appreciate its significance. It has been well stated that Englishmen 'understand their present and envisage their future, as an unfolding of their past.' In the United States, whatever is new tends to be favoured; in Great Britain it has first to be proved." "The American

citizen views the present as better than the past and therefore believes that any future will be better than the present."

If this comparison was well-founded, and the British social workers were not just falling back on history to distract attention from the poverty of their contemporary social analysis, surely a quite respectable explanation can be offered. No social institution consists simply in a set of contemporary relationships. It must be a continuing historical process if it is to have an identity, and the identity of social work has only recently come to be recognised. It has indeed only recently come to realise this identity itself, and to realise that it is no transient feature of

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modern industrial society, but a permanent institution. Sir Brian Horrocks, the other day, quoted Lord Birkenhead: "A nation that has no pride in its ancestry has no hope of posterity." It is one of the indications that social works counts on a posterity that we here have Mr. Ashton and Miss Freda Young ministering to ancestral pride. We need some sense of where we come from to judge where we are going and why. It is one of the merits of *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century* that it is the first attempt to provide this since Mrs. Bosanquet's masterly account of the more limited subject, London social work between 1869 and 1912.

The authors, nevertheless, have been courageous in trying to make a comprehensive survey over 100 years of such protean subject matter. "By social work" they say, "we do not mean social reform, though some social workers have necessarily become social reformers. Nor do we mean social services, i.e., the State or quasi-State organisations for providing a minimum standard of service as in education or health or for ensuring social security when circumstances are adverse (Insurance, Old Age Pensions). We use the term social work as referring to the personal efforts of individuals who assist those in distress or promote the welfare of those unsuccessful in promoting their own." The distinction is easier to make than to apply. The first social workers were almost *ex officio* social reformers concerned to initiate social services. They were active in an uneven scatter all over Great Britain, it might be an Ancoats slum, a Mendip village, the port of Leith, the streets of Whitechapel, a quiet cathedral backwater like Lichfield, a thronged and striving industrial city like Liverpool. And the records of their activity are inevitably records of reforms and social services. These, too, are sprinkled about in social histories, memoirs, government papers, obituary notices in *The Times* and local journals, minute books and pious records of voluntary societies, some obscure now or defunct—and at this very moment such societies are, reluctant but ruthless, sending their old papers out to salvage by the sackful. It would be difficult enough even for the professional historian to disentangle and appreciate

critically "the personal efforts of individuals" who have assisted those in distress over a hundred years of such conflicting and various development as the nineteenth century in Britain. It is not surprising, therefore, that Miss Young and Mr. Ashton have had to adopt the usual framework for their book of dividing it into a number of chapters on different fields of social work, viz., family casework, group work, moral welfare, the care of children, the handicapped, the delinquent; with a special chapter on Octavia Hill and an introductory sketch of the religious, social and economic thought which was influential at different times in the century.

Within this framework the authors attempt to clarify and trace the growth of social services in these fields, and from this point of view mention the early social workers: Chalmers, Loch, Octavia Hill, Barnardo, Mary Carpenter, Elizabeth Gilbert, Josephine Butler, Ellice Hopkins, Hannah More, Wilson Carlisle and Barnett, and a great many less-famous names about whom we should like to know more.

The framework perhaps is more of a hindrance than a help. It is no accident that histories of social work tend to be sprinkled more than liberally with thumbnail sketches of social workers. If social work is "the personal efforts of individuals" trying to help other individuals and the day-to-day records of these encounters are lost or non-existent, in what other terms can the history of social work be written? Social workers have a role to play, a social function to perform, which can be described and analysed, both during the nineteenth century, when they first sketched out their part and first discussed their function and in the contemporary scene. But it is a role which depends more than usually on the personal qualities of the players, and to know the function we need to know the people who have performed it. Mr. Ashton and Miss Young have stopped a serious gap by attempting a comprehensive picture of early social work. A great many more detailed studies, however, both local and biographical, on the lines of Mrs. Simey's account of Liverpool charities for example, or Miss Moberley Bell's account of Octavia Hill, have yet to be made available before the work can be consolidated.

UNA CORMACK

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British Transport Policy

By J. R. SARGENT. Oxford University Press. Pp. ix+164. 15s.

MR. SARGENT analyses the present transport services of this country in the light of the Transport Act of 1953. He poses the problem of how our transport system is to be operated economically when there is public demand for some uneconomic services to be maintained and when the indirect costs of road and rail services are financed by entirely different methods. The author's own proposals are shown at the end of the book.

An Encyclopaedia of Parliament

By NORMAN WILDING and PHILIP LAUNDY. Cassell. Pp. x+705. 63s.

THE authors, both of whom are Parliamentary Librarians in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, have produced a most valuable reference book which is, moreover, the first of its kind. It provides short but thorough articles and notes on all aspects of the procedures, customs, privileges and history of the British Parliament and, with less detail, on those of all the Parliaments of the Commonwealth. The work is completed by thirty-two appendices, listing the names and dates of all the British Secretaries of State and Ministers of the Crown since the creation of each office, the dates of all the Parliaments of Great Britain, a list of all the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth and an extensive bibliography.

The Bill of Rights

By LEARNED HAND. Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press. Pp. 82. 20s.

THE commitment of most countries to rule by the majority has raised difficult—if not intractable—problems about the position and rights of individuals in society as reflected by judicial decisions. Judge Hand, in the Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures for 1958, discusses the "function

of United States courts, particularly the Supreme Court, of declaiming invalid statutes of Congress, or of the States, or acts of the President, because they are in conflict with what we have come to call our 'Bill of Rights'."

The State and the Arts

By THE RT. HON. LORD BRIDGES. Oxford University Press. Pp. 24. 2s. 6d.

THIS is the text of the Romanes Lectures delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre on June 3rd, 1958. Lord Bridges analyses the existing relationship between the State and the arts and discusses such controversial topics as whether there should be a Minister of Fine Arts or whether the State is justified in spending large sums of money on the arts if the results can be seen—or heard—only in one city.

Le pouvoir discrétionnaire de l'administration

By VILI MERIKOSKI. Institut International des Sciences Administratives. (Obtainable in England through R.I.P.A.) Pp. 99. Fr. Belg. 100. (16s.)

DISCRETIONARY power, defined as that administrative autonomy with the force of law by which an authority decides which methods, rights and obligations to consider when taking action, is the subject of this comparative study. M. Merikoski, of Finland, draws from the practices of France, Germany and the United Kingdom, as well as touching on those of other countries.

Meetings

By FRANK SHACKLETON. Fourth Edition. Sweet and Maxwell. Pp. xxiv+296. 30s.

THE fourth edition of this book, first published in 1934, does not differ greatly from the form of the third, although the provisions of the Defamation Act, 1952, dealing with newspaper reports, and

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references to several recent and important cases have been included. The book contains sections on the meetings of local authorities and companies as well as a general exposition of the constitution of and procedure at meetings.

Report of H.M. Civil Service Commissioners for the period 1st April, 1957 to 31st March, 1958

H.M.S.O. Pp. 32. 2s.

THE Commissioners' ninety-second Report records details of the recruitment carried out during last year. The number and quality of candidates for the Administrative Class and for the Foreign Service showed some improvement over recent years. The Commissioners made a new departure on the scientific side by attempting to recruit for Research Fellowships young British Scientists who had gone to Canada or the U.S.A. to do research work there. Interviews were conducted in Ottawa and Washington. The operation, carried out in conjunction with the Atomic Energy Authority, produced a number of suitable candidates.

Village Panchayats

By S. V. SAMANT. The Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay. Pp. 192. Rs. 7-50.

As a pillar of society the village in India bears much more weight than its counterpart in Europe. This book is one of the few that describes Indian village administration. It begins with a brief historical survey and continues with an assessment of the panchayat system. Sections of the book are devoted to the constitution, functions, judicial powers and finance of panchayats. Mr. Samant undertook this study for a Ph.D. thesis; his book can be thoroughly recommended.

Redundancy: A Survey of Problems and Practices

The Acton Society Trust. Pp. 56. 5s.

At the very beginning the distinction is drawn between unemployment and true "redundancy"—the involuntary loss of a job through no fault of the worker concerned, which is bound to occur even in a period of full employment. The survey

then outlines the causes of redundancy and the steps that have been taken to protect the worker from it and finishes with sections on the liability of compensation to income tax, the efficacy of unemployment benefit with a note on German practice, redundancy procedure in the U.S.A. and some conclusions and recommendations on what steps should be taken in the future.

Economic Conditions in the World and in Western Germany at Midyear, 1958

Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher wirtschaftswissenschaftlicher Forschungsinstitute e.V. Bonn. Pp. 8.
No price shown.

As usual this annual statement issued by the Forschungsinstitute gives an authoritative survey of the economic conditions of Western Germany viewed against the world background. It reflects the basically healthy state of the German economy and predicts another year of consolidation and expansion.

Advanced Administrative Training in the Public Service

By KEITH B. CAILLARD. The Institute of Public Administration of Canada. Pp. 32. \$1.00.

THE final report of the first research project sponsored by the Institute of Public Administration of Canada appears as number one in their projected series of Governmental Studies. The Canadian Civil Service follows the North American pattern of recruiting to fill particular vacancies rather than, as in Great Britain, enlisting carefully selected young men and women to be trained for senior posts in later years. Professor Caillard surveys against this background all the "in-service" training facilities of the Canadian Public Service and makes some recommendations for their improvement.

The Landscape of Power

By SYLVIA CROWE. Architectural Press. Pp. 115. 16s.

MISS Crowe puts up a finely reasoned plea for greater care in the way in which the British landscape is covered with pylons, airdials, cooling towers, airfields and all the other tools of our civilisation. She suggests that landscape architects should

be consulted at the very beginning of a new project to ensure that unnecessary violence is not done to the countryside by new large-scale installations and shows by diagrams and photographs how this can be achieved. It is a most interesting book; and it is perhaps unfortunate that its narrow margins and cramped appearance did not receive the treatment she advocates in other fields.

A Guide to Birmingham

Pyramid Press. Pp. 380. 12s. 6d.

COPIES of this glossy and beautifully produced guide have been dispatched to British Information Services throughout the world. It not only gives all possible information about Britain's second city but shows by its wealth of advertisements the amazing diversity of the city's industries.

A Breviate of Parliamentary Papers, 1900-1916

P. and G. FORD. Basil Blackwell. Pp. xlix+470. 92s. 6d.

THE fourth to appear in the *Parliamentary Papers Series* deals with the period when the foundations of the Welfare State were being laid. Reports on *Divorce and Matrimonial Causes* and on *The Selection of Justices of the Peace* mixed with those on *Measurement of Tonnage of Steam Ships* and on *Squibs for the Purpose of Firing Shots in Naked Light Mines* reflect the immense range of activities explored and the great upsurge of thinking on the legislation necessary to protect each citizen whoever he may be. Summaries on 1048 reports covering 446 double-column papers give statements of the terms of reference, the arguments of the reports and their recommendations. A select list of 'annual reports' for the period 1900-39 given in an appendix, completes a most useful work of reference.

The Government of Nova Scotia

By J. M. BECK. University of Toronto Press and Oxford University Press. Pp. xii+372. 45s.

THIS is the eighth volume to appear in the *Canadian Government Series* under the editorship of R. MacGregor Dawson and can be recommended to anyone interested in political science. The Government of

Nova Scotia has passed through three clearly defined stages (the first struggling seventy years; thirty years of reorganisation based largely on our own pattern of government; and, since 1867, the last period, one of development). To cover these stages, Dr. Beck has divided his book into three parts, of which the third is the longest and probably the most important. In it he discusses every feature of the modern political institutions of Nova Scotia, from the principles of the Confederation to the procedure of the House of Assembly and the practices of municipal government.

Small Town in Mass Society

By A. J. VIDICH and J. BENSMAN. Princeton University Press and Oxford University Press. Pp. xvi+329. 48s.

SPRINGDALE is a small rural town in the north of New York State where, according to this book, all the vices and virtues of normal rural life abound. The sub-title, "Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community," is an indication both of the contents of the book and of its anthropological approach. It makes quite interesting reading but is of marginal value to the administrator.

THE following other books have been received for review:

Some Aspects of the Indian Administrative System, by SRI RAM SHARMA. Institute of Public Administration. Sholapur. 12s. 6d.

The International Civil Service, by DR. TIEN-CHENG YOUNG. International Institute of Administrative Science. 36s.

Institutions of Advanced Societies, edited by ARNOLD M. ROSE. Minnesota Press. 84s.

Local Authorities Finance Staff, by R. SIDEBOTHAM. Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants. 5s.

History of the U.S. Civil Service, by P. VAN RIPER. Row Peterson. \$7.50.

Scottish Social Welfare, 1864-1914, by THOMAS FERGUSON. Livingstone. 42s.

Man in Employment, by DR. A. BADGER. Arthur Barker. 25s.

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European Volunteer Workers in Britain, by J. A. TANNAHILL. Manchester University Press. 18s.

History of Local Government in England, by REDLICH and HIRST. Macmillan. 30s.

French West Africa, by V. THOMSON and R. ADLOFF. George Allen and Unwin. 48s.

Government Administration in New Zealand, by R. POLASCHEK. New Zealand Institute of Public Administration and Oxford University Press. 35s.

Essays on the Welfare State, by R. M. TITMUS. George Allen and Unwin. 20s.

Introduction to American Administrative Law, by B. SCHWARTZ. Pitman. 80s.

Business Enterprise: its Growth and Organisation, by R. S. EDWARDS and H. TOWNSEND. Macmillan. 60s.

The Foundations of Political Theory, by H. R. G. GREAVES. George Allen and Unwin. 21s.

Some Economic Problems of Public Enterprises in India, by P. PRASAD. Stenfort Kvoese. f. 19.

Indian Administration, by ASOK CHANDA. George Allen and Unwin. 25s.

Decision Making—an annotated Bibliography, by PAUL WASSERMANN. Graduate School of Business and Public Administration. \$3.50.

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